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Theological Seminary
Princeton, N. J.
Presented by Mr
Charles Scribner.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
Princeton, N. J. 44-5
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BV 3190 .D84 1850
Dwight, H. G. O. 1803-1862.
Christianity revived in the
East; or, A narrative of

Note. *A line under a name designates it as a Missionary station of the American Board. The sign ⛪ indicates the places where Evangelical churches have been organized*

Lith. of F. Michelin & Geo. E. Deefe 225 Fulton St. N.Y.

CHRISTIANITY

REVIVED IN THE EAST;

OR,

A NARRATIVE OF THE WORK OF GOD AMONG THE ARMENIANS OF TURKEY.

BY

H. G. O. DWIGHT,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

NEW YORK:

BAKER AND SCRIBNER,

145 NASSAU STREET AND 36 PARK ROW.

1850

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1850, by
BAKER AND SCRIBNER,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

C. W. BENEDICT,
Stereotyper,
201 William st, N. Y.

PREFACE.

The author of the following narrative has been connected with the mission to the Armenians of Turkey, from its very first establishment. He has aimed to give a simple narrative of facts, leaving the reader, for the most part, to draw his own inferences, and make his own reflections. He has taken special satisfaction in tracing the remarkable interpositions of an over-ruling Providence, in counteracting the designs of evil-minded men; bringing good out of evil; and raising up deliverers for his down-stricken people. Truly God has "made the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder thereof he has restrained."

This book is a narrative of only the beginnings of a great work of reform, that is still going on in the Armenian Church. The attention of many Christians in America, as well as in Europe, has been for years directed to this work; and their interest has been so much excited by its somewhat rapid developments, that the preparation of such a volume as the one now offered to the public, seemed fully justified. May it go forth with the blessing of the Great Head of the Church, whose wisdom, power, and glory it is designed to illustrate.

The Armenian language, as it was spoken in the early ages of the Christian era, has now become a dead language. It is the language of their Church books, and of most of their literature. The modern Armenian tongue, which is capable of a general division into two distinct dialects,—the Eastern and Western,—is based upon the ancient, but greatly corrupted with Turkish words, and Turkish idioms. It is the language of their firesides, and of their social and religious intercourse. The language of business, with the Armenians, and of communication with the other races around them, is the Turkish. In certain sections of the country, they have entirely lost the use of their vernacular tongue, and speak only the Turkish. Hence a portion of our books are printed in the Armeno-Turkish language, which is nothing more than the Turkish, written in the Armenian character. Hence also, the preaching of a portion of the missionaries is in the Turkish language.

The orthography of proper names in this volume has been adapted to that of the Syrian Mission. The vowels are to be pronounced according to the French, with the exception of the *u*. This letter with a mark over it thus (*ù*) is to be sounded like *oo* in *cool*; and without the mark generally like the French *u*. In the word *Keuy* (village),—sometimes elsewhere spelled *Koy*,—the dipthong *eu* has almost exactly the sound of the French *eu* and *peu*. *Gh* and *kh* are gutturals for which we have no expression in the English or French alphabets.

Certain words are used which need explanation. A *vartabed* is a monk in priest's orders. His office, in distinction from that of the common priest, is that of preacher. The word *Der* affixed to a name, denotes that the individual is a priest. Its literal meaning is *lord*, and it is equivalent to *Domine* as used

among the Hollanders. A *Khan* is a building, usually square, with an open court in the centre, and divided into small rooms, which are let to merchants and travellers. The *bazars* are lines of stalls open in front, and covered with a roof, in which merchandize is sold.

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CHRISTIANITY REVIVED IN THE EAST.

CHAPTER I.

Conversion of the Armenian nation to Christianity—Questionable purity of the original Armenian Church —— Affinities with Rome — Prominent errors—Necessity of a reform—Object of this work—Enlightened priest of the last century—Early efforts of Bible Societies—Extensive distribution of the Scriptures—Translation into the vernacular dialects—Hostility of the Patriarch to the same—Armenian pilgrims in Palestine—Conversion of three ecclesiastics—Mr. King's letter in Constantinople—Peshtimaljian and his school—Preparation of mind—Probability of piety in the Church—Readiness of the people to reform—Evidence of the work of God's Spirit.

More than three hundred years had elapsed from the birth of Christ, before the Armenian people adopted Chistianity as their national religion. Up to that period they had practised the grossest forms of heathen idolatry. True, Armenian historians record the conversion of their king, Abgar by name, who was a cotemporary with Christ; and they affirm, that subsequently, through the instrumentality of the Apostles, Thaddeus and Bartholomew,—the latter bearing about with him a portrait of the Virgin Mary(!)—multitudes in the Armenian nation were brought over to the Christian faith. But, whether this account be true or false in its main features, it is indubitably certain that idolatry reigned with undisputed sway over this people, at the beginning of the fourth cen-

tury; and that about the year 318, through the zealous labors of Krikor Lûsavorich, heathenism was abolished, and Christianity publicly and universally established in its place.

Already, however, had human inventions begun to multiply in the Church of Christ, and the religion of forms to overlay the religion of the heart. So that, while it cannot be doubted that many were really made wise unto salvation, it is still mournfully true that there was much "wood, hay, and stubble" mixed up with the very first foundations of the Armenian Church. History records that Krikor, or Gregory as he is called in English, "consecrated four hundred bishops, and an immense number of priests; and erected various churches, convents, nunneries, hospitals and schools. He also instituted religious feasts, and other ecclesiastical ceremonies, and diffused the light of the gospel throughout the land." The religious institutions and observances here referred to, had not then become what subsequent ages of degeneracy made them, but, while we yield to Armenian Christianity, in its first and purest age, all the advantage it can reasonably claim from this consideration, it is still true, that even that age was characterized by strong symptoms of religious decline, and approaching apostacy. The apostles of Jesus Christ founded no "convents," or "nunneries;" neither did they institute "religious feasts," or "ecclesiastical ceremonies." It is a remarkable fact, that the most ancient books of theology, as well as the most ancient liturgies of the Armenian Church are strongly tainted with error. It is indeed doubtful, whether, even among the first and best teachers of this Church, there ever was a perfectly clear discrimination

between the religion of man and the religion of God; between purchasing salvation by observances and penances, and receiving it as a free gift from Heaven. And the Armenian Church, receiving thus in its beginnings only an obscured Christianity, most easily followed the degenerating tendencies of the age; until at length it settled down permanently into hierarchism and formalism; or the religion of the priest and the religion of the ritual. In forms and in doctrines, the Armenian, the Greek, and the Roman churches are essentially one. In each of them the priests and the sacraments in a great measure take the place of Christ; and with this grand, distinctive feature alike in them all, who can feel that anything important attaches itself to the inquiry whether one holds a sacrament more or less than the other? or has a saint more or less on the calendar? or whether they choose to make images of the latter, by the painter's brush on a flat piece of canvass, or by the sculptor's tool out of a block of marble, or a piece of molten brass?

It is painful to witness in the book of common prayer in this Church, how constantly the name of Jesus *as mediator* is excluded, and the name of Mary, or some other saint, substituted in its place. As might be expected, the poor people are found continually calling upon the Virgin, but never upon the Lord Jesus, to intercede for them. In this respect, indeed, the Armenians appear to hold even a lower place in the scale than either the Greeks or the Latins; for the latter, have only dishonored Christ by associating with him a multitude of other mediators, while the former seem to have excluded him altogether from the mediatorial office. Auricular confession; absolution from sin by the priest; penance;

transubstantiation; baptismal regeneration; intercession of the saints and angels; worship of the material cross, of relics, and of pictures; and prayers for the dead; all belong as much to the Armenian Church as to the Roman. True, no general Armenian council has been held, to collect and engross, by formal vote, these and the other articles of their faith and practice; but the errors just as really exist, and are as truly received by the Church, as if circumstances had called for, or permitted, their formal sanction by such a council. This is just as clearly true as that the false doctrines of Rome were really and truly the doctrines of that Church, long before the Council of Trent collected them in form, and published them to the world!

Nothing can be plainer, than that a church in which the true gospel scheme of salvation is so entirely overlaid and lost by human inventions, needs a thorough reformation. And when it is remembered that millions of Mohammedans, (to say nothing of the Jews,) in the very midst of whom this degenerate Church is found, are deriving their only notions of Christianity from its false doctrines and practices, and in consequence of the strong prejudices they thus acquire, are placed almost beyond the possibility of being benefited by any Christian effort in their behalf, does it not seem to be the obvious duty of evangelical Christians to do what they can to remove this stumbling block out of the way. Though living in other portions of the globe, they, too, are involved in the common disgrace, may we not say the sin, of thus repelling the nations from Christ, by the exhibition to them of a miserable counterfeit of Christianity, instead of its truth; and how can they better repair the evil, than by

laboring, first of all, to persuade that degenerate Church, to return to the simplicity and purity of the gospel of Christ?

It is the object of the present work to record the principal circumstances of the beginning of a reformation, which is still in progress in the Armenian Church, and which, it is hoped, will not cease, until the whole body is cleansed from its multiform errors, and brought entirely back to its allegiance to Christ. This reformation, it will be seen, has been commenced and carried forward to its present point, chiefly through the instrumentality of missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. A faithful account of this work involves the presentation of some dark pictures of human depravity. It could not be expected that without an opposing effort, Satan would relinquish ground, of which he had retained undisputed possession for so many centuries. And in tracing the doings of God in this history, we must trace the counter-doings of man. In developing the work of the divine Spirit in enlightening men, convincing them of sin, and leading them to repentance, we must also develop the desperate struggles of the great adversary of souls, through his emissaries, in opposition to this work, its instruments, and its Author.

Ninety years ago, or about A. D. 1760, there appeared an Armenian priest in the quarter of Constantinople called Psamatia, by the name of Debajy Oghlû, to whom the honor belongs of having made the first attempt in modern days, for the reformation of the Armenian Church. He wrote a book, in which, in a very forcible and fearless manner, he exposed some of the most glaring errors of his Church. With the history of Luther and the Re-

formation, he was more or less familiar; and he speaks in decided terms of approbation of the Reformer; which, considering the inveterate ignorance and prejudice everywhere prevalent in the East on this subject, shows a remarkable degree of enlightenment and independence of mind on the part of the priest. He was a man of much native playfulness and wit, and he castigates both clergy and people with an unsparing hand; often holding them up to ridicule for their gross inconsistencies both in faith and practice. His constant reference to the Bible, testing every principle and ceremony by that high standard, shows both a reverence for its authority, and familiarity with its teachings. His mind seemed to dwell, chiefly, on the inconsistent conduct of the priests and bishops, and the superstition of the people; and neither the doctrine of justification by faith, nor the necessity of a Divine influence to secure a real reformation, is anywhere alluded to. Judging from his book, the element of true spiritual religion was wanting in his mind, and this will explain, perhaps, why so little fruit resulted at the time, from his labors. He was convinced of the errors of his Church, but seems not to have seen the truth clearly and distinctly, *as it is in Christ Jesus.* His book was never printed, and for a long course of years it was buried in apparent oblivion. Even then, however, copies of it were secretly kept by individuals; and at the beginning of the present reformation in the Armenian Church, they were providentially brought to light, and used to much advantage in directing the attention of people to the prevailing errors of the Church. It is possible that the labors of this priest had more to do with preparing the way for

this reformation, than can now be proved by any well-authenticated facts.

As early as the year 1813, both the British and Russian Bible Societies became so much interested in the spiritual condition of the Armenian people, as to make the most active exertions to supply them with the Sacred Scriptures. A translation of the whole Bible, in the ancient Armenian language, made in the fourth century, was found in existence among them, but copies of it were extremely rare, and, of course, proportionably dear. An edition of this version was commenced in St. Petersburgh, by the Russian Society, during the year above mentioned, and about the same time, another edition of the same was put to press in Calcutta, under the auspices of the Calcutta Auxilliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society. In 1815, the former was completed; consisting of 5000 copies, while the latter, of 2000 copies, was not finished until two years afterwards. The Russian Society also soon published an edition of two thousand copies of the ancient Armenian New Testament by itself. The Committee of the British Society, in their report for 1814, say that "the printing of the Armenian Testament has awakened great attention among the Armenians, particularly in Russia; and a fervent desire has been manifested on their part, to possess that invaluable treasure. There is good reason to believe that the distribution of the Sacred Scriptures among that widely-scattered people, will, under the blessing of God, be attended with the most beneficial results." It will be remembered that the Emperor Alexander took a lively interest in the objects of the Bible Society, and was, at one time, a most efficient promoter of it throughout his dominions. A cause

which the Emperor favored must of course be popular; and accordingly we find archbishops and bishops, governors and generals, and nearly all the nobility of the Empire, among the patrons and supporters of this institution. Among the rest was Eprem (Ephraim) the Katholicos, or visible spiritual head of the Armenian Church, resident at Echmiadzin, in the Russian dominions, who was elected one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society. A letter of his to the President of the Russian Bible Society is still extant, in which he strongly commends the cause in general, and the effort to supply his own people with the Word of God in particular. The Armenian Archbishop Nerses of Tiflis, who has succeeded to the office of Katholicos, contributed 600 rubles towards the object, and other leading ecclesiastics followed the same example.

During the year 1818, the British and Foreign Bible Society purchased 1500 copies of the ancient Armenian New Testament, from the Armeno-Catholic College on the island of St. Lazarus, Venice, for distribution at a reduced price, or gratuitously, among the Armenian people. Subsequently, still larger numbers were procured, from the same quarter, and put in circulation, chiefly among the Armenians of Turkey. And so much encouragement did they meet with in these labors, that we find the same society, during the year 1823, publishing at Constantinople an edition of 5000 copies of the Armenian New Testament, and of 3000 copies of the four gospels alone! Nor were these volumes of the Word of God long detained to load the shelves of a depository. They were rapidly and widely circulated, first through the agency of Drs. Patterson and Henderson, among the Armenians in

the Trans-Caucasian provinces of Russia ; and afterwards in Turkey, by the zealous efforts of the Rev. James Connor, of the Church Missionary Society, and the Rev. Henry Leeves, and Benjamin Baker, Esq., agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society. From the year 1822, the Reports of this Society also make frequent mention of the services of the Missionaries of the American Board, in efficiently distributing the Word of God among the Armenians, as well as the other nations of Western Asia.

An important discovery, however, had already put these Societies upon a new course of labor. The ancient Armenian language was not understood by the mass of the people. True, the teachers of schools, some of the priests and deacons, and all of the higher clergy, having made this language their special study, were prepared to be benefited ; and the importance of supplying these classes only, with the pure Word of God, could hardly be over estimated. As we advance in this history, it will be seen, that, as a matter of fact, the reformation began among the teachers. But in order to reach the common people, the Russian Society issued an edition of the New Testament translated into the Armeno-Turkish in 1822, and in the following year, an edition was published by the British Society in the vulgar Armenian tongue. A portion of the Armenians in Turkey have lost entirely the use of their vernacular language, and now speak only the Turkish ; and it was for them especially that the first named translation was intended, being in the Turkish language, written with the Armenian character. Although there were many defects in both these translations, yet they were widely circulated, and there can be no doubt that the great Head of the Church honored them, even in that

early day, as instruments in preparing the minds of many for the reception of *the truth, even as it is in Jesus.* The latter has been highly useful during the whole course, thus far, of the work of spiritual regeneration among the Armenians of Turkey ; although it has latterly been chiefly displaced by a revised and greatly improved edition, prepared and printed under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society, by the missionaries of the American Board in Smyrna.

Up to this period, the Armenian ecclesiastics had made no opposition, so far as is known, to the circulation of the Bible among their people, and some of the very highest of them, as has been stated, seemed to favor the project. But when Messrs. Leeves and Barker, agents of the British Society, sought the approbation of the Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople in 1823, to the printing of a version of the New Testament in the modern Armenian, which nearly all the people could understand, that dignitary refused his sanction in the most positive terms ; and threatened, that if such a work were attempted, he would prohibit the perusal of it, and even punish such as should be found with it in their possession ; and the Armenian clergy generally, at that time, so far as they were consulted, unanimously reprobated the plan of having such a translation. Here we see the true spirit and policy of the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities ; entirely corroborating the statement, that in everything essential they bear the closest affinity with Rome !

The first mission of the American Board to Western Asia, was to Palestine, in the year 1819. The Armenians had then attracted no particular attention from any Missionary Society, and although the Prudential Committee,

at this very time, contemplated the ultimate extension of their missionary labors, to the countries bordering on the Black Sea, and particularly to Armenia, yet no reference whatever was had to the Armenian people, in this first mission to the Holy Land. The very existence of such a race was then known to but few in our country. It must also be mentioned, that in the whole land of Palestine, there were to be found only a mere handful of this class of inhabitants, and yet two events are to be recorded in connection with this mission, which subsequently had a most important bearing upon the work among the Armenians of Turkey. Early in 1821, Mr. Parsons, on his first visit to Jerusalem, found there some Armenian pilgrims, with whom he had an interesting conversation on religious subjects. Deeply interested in their appearance, he ventured to suggest the thought of having a mission sent from the American churches to Armenia itself. "We shall rejoice," they replied, "we shall rejoice, and all will rejoice when they arrive." Mr. Fisk, who had accompanied Mr. Parsons as far as Smyrna, soon after wrote from that city to Boston, recommending the appointment of missionaries to Armenia. It is a singular coincidence, that before anything had been heard on the subject from either of these missionaries, some intelligent friends of the Board in Boston, urged the same measure upon the Prudential Committee. From this time onward, neither the missionaries in the Levant, nor the Board at home, ever lost sight of the plan of having a mission among the Armenians.

The other event alluded to above, was the conversion, at Beirût, of three Armenian ecclesiastics, as the first fruits of the labors of our brethren there. Two of them

were bishops, and the other a distinguished vartabed, or preacher; and it is believed that all of them, by their letters to Constantinople, and other parts of Turkey, contributed much towards preparing the minds of their fellow countrymen for that interesting spiritual work which has since been going on among them. Their names were Dionysius, Hagop, and Krikor; more familiarly known in the letters and journals of the missionaries, as Carabed, Yacob Agha, and Wortabet. The two latter have long since been called to their rest. The former, who was almost prophetically named by the missionaries, CARABET, which signifies Forerunner, still survives to witness the wonders God hath wrought among his countrymen since his own conversion, which was the first among the Armenians, in connection with our missions; though groaning under the pressure of many years, and many infirmities, and ready to exclaim, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."

And now we come to a point in the chain of events, where a single link connects these distant movements among Armenians, directly with the true and proper field of the Armenian mission. Mr. King, on leaving Syria, in 1825, addressed a farewell letter to the Roman Catholics, stating the reasons why he could not be a Catholic. This letter was translated into the Armenian language, by bishop Dionysius, and a copy in manuscript was sent to some Armenians of distinction in Constantinople. An extraordinary effect was produced on the minds of all who read it, and soon a meeting was called in the Armenian Patriarchal Church, at which, it is said, the letter was read, and the references to Scripture examined, and, as if by common consent, it was agreed that the Church

needs reform. Out of this grew, immediately, the famous school of Peshtimaljian. It was established within the precincts of the Patriarchate at Constantinople, and one particular object was the education of the clergy; the rule being adopted, that no individual should thereafter be ordained to the priest's office in the Capital, who had not completed a regular course of study at this school.

Peshtimaljian was, in many respects, an extraordinary man. Possessing, naturally, an active and inquisitive mind, and a retentive memory, he always busied himself in gathering knowledge from all sources within his reach, and what he gathered, he never lost. He was a most critical and accurate scholar in the ancient Armenian tongue, and deeply versed in all the lore of his own nation. Though a layman, he made himself familiar with the theology of the Eastern and Roman churches, with the doings of their Councils, and with the general history of the Church from the earliest ages. He was also a student of the Bible, and could quote passages from every part of the Old and New Testaments, with wonderful facility and accuracy. Disgusted with the superstitions of his Church, and especially with the low character of many of its clergy, and having had access to the writings of certain French infidels, he seems to have lived for a while under the delusion that all religion is a lie. He was soon, however, brought back to the ground, that the Bible is the true word of God and the only standard of faith. It is believed, that for many years, religion, with him, was more a matter of intellectual inquiry and speculation, than of divine power; more a correct system of opinions, than a heart right with God. He was cautious in speak-

ing of the errors of the Church, and even timid, and sometimes time-serving in the presence of the bigoted; but in a silent and unostentatious manner, he gradually led his pupils into new paths of inquiry and investigation; and almost before they were aware of it themselves, they came to believe that the Church not only may err, but actually does err in many of her teachings. This was the position of things when the mission to the Armenians at Constantinople, was commenced. Afterwards, when the Gospel began to take effect on the minds of men, and he saw some of his own former pupils, for whom he entertained a high regard, boldly advocating the doctrines of evangelical religion, he became alarmed, and warned them against going too fast and too far. At first, he even ridiculed the idea that an important reformation was practicable in the Armenian community, through the simple preaching of the Gospel. Indeed, it might be said of him, at this time, as Luther said of Erasmus; "What is of man was nearer to his heart than what is of God." If his beginning was like Erasmus, however, he was not the same in his end. He subsequently became convinced that his pupils were only carrying out consistently, the very principle they had learned of him, and ever after, he strongly, though still privately, encouraged them in their labors for the spiritual regeneration of their countrymen. He was always a friend of the missionaries, and had much intercourse with them, although with some caution, for fear of exciting suspicion. Never, till the day of his death, which occurred in the year 1838, did he so far overcome his native timidity, as openly to avow himself an evangelical man. It is probable the ordeal of persecution would have brought him, as it did

others like him, to take decided ground in favor of the truth. Up to the time of his death, however, there had been no formal separation of the evangelical brethren from the Armenian community, and no open persecution of the followers of Christ. It is impossible to calculate the amount of influence exerted by Peshtimaljian, in preparing the minds of men to receive the true knowledge of the gospel. All the first converts, under the labors of the missionaries of the Board in Constantinople, and many of the later ones, were from among the alumni of his school.

There can be no doubt, that, owing to the causes that have now been specified, in connection with others more recondite, there did exist in the Armenian mind, in Turkey, a preparedness for the reception of divine truth, previous to its actual proclamation among them by the American missionaries. This was more evident at the capital than in the provinces, and yet it was more or less true, wherever Armenians were found. More than twenty-five years ago, bishop Dionysius and Krikor Vartabed, both of whom had traveled extensively in Asia Minor and Armenia, as well as resided at Constantinople, testified to the missionaries in Beirût, that the minds of the Armenian people were wonderfully inclined towards the pure gospel, and that, should preachers go among them, no doubt thousands would be ready to receive the truth as it is in Jesus Christ. And the correctness of this opinion has been fully attested by all our experience hitherto. The gospel has been preached to Greeks and Jews in Turkey, as well as to Armenians, but among these classes no such preparation of mind has ever been exhibited. To the Jews, for the most part, it has proved

"a stumbling-block," and to the Greeks, "foolishness;" while to the Armenians it has been "the power of God and the wisdom of God."

If it be asked, whether, this being the state of things, there is not good ground to suppose that many pious characters were to be found among the Armenians, before the missionaries began their labors, the answer is at hand. The Armenians had in their possession the Bible, as we have seen. They had the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ. And although comparatively few ever read that Bible for themselves, and all were educated to receive as true many extraneous things—the mere inventions of man—contradictory of the word of God; yet, who shall dare to limit the Holy One, and say that his Spirit might not make a saving application of the truth that is known—though very imperfectly, and connected with many errors—and train up, here and there, a soul for his kingdom! At least one individual, apparently of this class, was known to us. He was an old man trembling under the burden of more than fourscore years, and, from education, still clinging to many of the superstitions of his Church; and yet his mind was fixed on heaven. He appeared very conscientious, and his affections seemed to be "on things above, and not on things on the earth." He conversed about heavenly things with the ease and familiarity of one who had long been habituated to contemplation on such subjects; and the earth seemed to be kept beneath his feet. He died at the age of eighty-five, and we felt that there was satisfactory ground to hope that death to him was eternal gain. Others there may have been, whom the Lord has known to be his dear children, though we have been ignorant of them. We regard these, however, as extremely rare ex-

ceptions to a general rule. And even in these isolated cases, there was so much "wood, hay, and stubble," mixed up with the silver and gold of their foundation, that the individuals could emphatically be said to be saved "so as by fire." Not a solitary case of fully enlightened Christian piety have we known, in the whole Armenian Church, where the subject of it received his teaching in connection with that Church alone. And, in general, the highest degree of preparation of mind with which we have been conversant, has been a conviction that some of the doctrines and observances of the Church are erroneous or superfluous, and a remarkable candor in listening to statements contradictory of their previous notions, and as wonderful a readiness to receive and act upon the plain teaching of the Word of God, as soon as known, though with one blow it swept away the whole of that splendid and imposing fabric of superstition which had required the ingenuity and toil of many ages to erect.

The common people, when left to themselves, and unintimidated by the clergy, have almost everywhere heard the word with gladness: and this has been the case with many of the parochial priests, except where they have been made to dread the wrath of their superiors. And in stating the causes that have combined to produce this remarkable preparation of mind, we desire most distinctly to recognize an overruling and ever active Providence, in so ordering events as to bring these causes into being, and make them bear with concentrated force upon the Armenian race at this particular time; and also an omnipresent and almighty Spirit, combining and coöperating with Providence, so as to produce the desired effect upon the minds and hearts of this people. It may truly be said in regard

to the Armenians, that the "fulness of time" had come, when preachers of the gospel from the western world were sent among them to call them to the word, the service, and the glory of Christ. And as we proceed in this history, it will become more and more evident, that God has been among them in very deed, working outwardly by his Providence, and inwardly by his Spirit; thus encouraging the brightest hopes of what they are one day to become as a people, and of what they are to do, instrumentally, in conferring the temporal and spiritual blessings of Christianity on all the nations and races around.

CHAPTER II.

Exploring Tour—Mr. Goodell's Removal to Constantinople—Interview with the Patriarch—Arrival of Messrs. Dwight and Schauffler—Obstacles—Schools and Preaching—Intercourse with the Clergy—Pestilence and War—First Inquirer and Convert—Opposition—Good from Evil—Ordination of Priests—Der Kevork—Removal of the Press to Smyrna—Spirit's Presence—High School—Arrival of Messrs. Schneider and Johnston—Station at Brûsa—Do. at Trebizond—Prosperity at Constantinople—Friendly Intercourse with Clergy—Character of Patriarch and his Vicar—Opposition to High School—Bishop Matteos—Arrival of Mr. Powers—Book Distribution—Ecclesiastical Inquirers—Evangelical Sermons—Hostile Manifestation—Romish Influence—Character of the Work—Female Education—Missionary Tours—Arrival of Mr. Jackson.

In the year 1829, it was resolved by the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to establish a mission among the Armenians of Turkey. But first, it was desirable to have a correct view of the whole ground, and especially of Armenia itself, the proper country of the Armenian people. Accordingly, the Rev. Eli Smith, of the Syrian mission, and the writer, were deputed to explore this field. The tour was commenced in the spring of 1830, and occupied somewhat more than a year; and a mass of new information was obtained, both in regard to the Armenians and the Nestorians, which has since been of essential service

in prosecuting missionary operations in that part of the world.*

Early in the year 1831, the Rev. W. Goodell, formerly at Beirût, but then at Malta, was instructed to proceed to Constantinople with his family, in order to commence a new station there, with special reference to the Armenians. They arrived on the 9th of June of the same year. Mr. Goodell had already, while in Syria, devoted himself to the study of the Turkish language, with a view to laboring for the spiritual good of Armenian pilgrims to Jerusalem. He had superintended the translation of the New Testament into Armeno-Turkish, and carried the first edition through the press at Malta; and had commenced the translation of the Old Testament into the same language. He had also, while temporarily in Malta, translated and printed several religious tracts in the same. Very shortly after his arrival at the Turkish capital, he called upon the Armenian Patriarch, and sought his coöperation in establishing schools on an improved plan among the people. The Patriarch received him with true oriental politeness, as he had done Mr. Smith and myself the year previous, and promised to furnish some schoolmasters, or priests, to learn the new system of instruction, so as to be able to open schools. It is to be feared that this promise, which was never kept, had as little meaning as the declaration that he loved Mr. Goodell and his country so much, that if Mr. G. had not come to visit him, he must needs have gone to America!

Providential circumstances interrupted Mr. Goodell's

* The results of this tour, are embodied in a work entitled, Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H. G. O. Dwight in Armenia, &c. Published by Crocker & Brewster, Boston, 1833.

first plans for the good of the Armenians, and for a season cut off almost all intercourse with this people. In the meantime, the Greeks were thrown in his way, and for a year or more, nearly his whole time was devoted to them. Two individuals, however, belonging to that portion of the Armenians who had gone over to Rome, sought frequent intercourse with him, and seemed deeply interested in the study of the Scriptures.

On the 5th of June, 1832, the writer took up his permanent residence at Constantinople, with his family, being appointed to labor among the Armenians.* The missionaries encountered all the usual disadvantages and obstacles of a new field. Difficult languages were to be mastered; the habitual modes of thinking and feeling, prevailing among the people, were to be learned; and the best methods of gaining access to them, and securing their confidence. It was plain that an immense fabric of superstition had been erected in the place of simple gospel truth, and it seemed to excite the reverence and awe of the people, in proportion as it had grown hoary with age. But it was not so easy to see how two foreigners, from a far off and almost unknown country, with no established character in the place, and, indeed, coming in such a way as very naturally to excite suspicion, should make their first attempts to persuade the people that all their present grounds of religious confidence were delusive, and that they (the missionaries) had come to teach them a better way—the true and only way of salvation.

* The Rev. W. G. Schauffler joined the Constantinople Station the last of July of the same year. Although his labors have been confined chiefly to the Jews, yet his influence in promoting the work of reform among the Armenians has been of the greatest importance, in various ways.

The circumstances of the case seemed to compel us to make our first regular effort in the educational department. We had a press in Malta, and the New Testament and several tracts had already been printed in a language spoken by the Armenians. But of what use were books, when people could not read? And besides, it seemed to us plain, that, under existing circumstances, a very important means of procuring access to the people, in the outset of our labors, was through educational institutions. At the same time, we felt called upon to make known the way of salvation to all men, as the Lord gave us opportunity, and as we had ability to use their language. And in this department we were fully satisfied that the great burden of our preaching should be, not the superstitions of the Church, but "Jesus Christ and him crucified." From the beginning onward, we have acted on the principle, that the easiest, safest, and best way to break down error, is to build up the truth. With the ecclesiastics of the Armenian Church, we endeavored to maintain friendly intercourse, and to secure their coöperation in our educational efforts. With this view, we made repeated attempts to interest the Patriarch in the object, as well as other high dignitaries of the Church. The Patriarch always professed great readiness to act in the matter, but in reality never moved a finger, and the others were always waiting to see what he would do; and of course nothing was done by any of them.

But here other obstacles arose which had not been anticipated. First came the plague, with terrific violence scattering dismay and death around. This was succeeded by the cholera; and this again by civil war, which shook the capital and endangered the throne. Of course, but

little intercourse could be had with the people at such a time. We were employed chiefly in our own house during the remainder of the year, pursuing the study of languages, and preparing elementary cards and books for schools.

The year 1833 opened with brighter prospects for the mission. The number of Armenian visitors had been gradually increasing, though the greater part seemed to come from motives of curiosity. In January, a young teacher, of modest and intelligent appearance, presented himself. He inquired very particularly about our views of religion ; and there was an air of sincerity and seriousness in his deportment, altogether peculiar, and which prepossessed us very strongly in his favor. Within a week he repeated his call, and then for the first time unburdened his mind. He was seeking the salvation of his soul : he was also strongly desirous of doing something effectual for the regeneration of the whole Armenian community. From his youth up, he had ardently thirsted for knowledge. In the year 1829, he became a pupil of the famous school of Peshtimaljian. He had previously commenced the reading of the New Testament, a cheap copy of which his father had purchased, and, to some extent, he had compared its teachings with the principles and practices of those called Christians around him. He now consulted his beloved preceptor in regard to every passage that seemed to him dark and unintelligible, and was delighted to find Peshtimaljian so ready to sympathise in his views, and aid him in his investigations. The following year he found a friend, who was also a teacher, to whom he ventured gradually to open his mind, and who, after some opposition, was brought to embrace like views of religion with himself. Often did they commune together on this subject,

and pray together for their own salvation and that of their fellow-countrymen. At that time, they were not aware of the existence of a single nation in the world, having a knowledge of the pure Gospel. They were in a waiting posture, earnestly hoping and praying that the Lord would by some means solve their doubts, and enable them to accomplish their designs and purposes. For two years and a half, they remained in suspense, still ignorant of many things pertaining to the gospel of Christ, and not even discerning clearly their own lost and ruined condition, and the great doctrine of salvation by grace alone; and yet wholly dissatisfied with the teachings and practices of their Church, and longing for some solid ground of hope and peace; and, by their constant study of the Word of God, and by prayer, gradually making progress in the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ. The restless activity of the enemy hastened the solution of their difficulties. It was noised abroad in the city, that two missionaries from America were residing in a village on the Bosphorus, who were preparing to open schools among the Armenians, ostensibly for a good purpose, but really to spread infidelity. The report, though designed to prevent intercourse with the missionaries, was the means of sending the first of these two inquirers to our house. His name is Hohannes Sahakian, and the manner of his first visit and his personal appearance, has already been partially described. Our first interview with this individual may be considered as an era in the history of the mission. He soon became a most efficient instrument in promoting the truth, as he has continued to be up to the present time; and never, from that moment, have we been without the most satisfactory evidence of the special presence of the

Holy Spirit among the Armenian people. On the 18th of July, 1833, Mr. Sahakian and his companion, in a very solemn manner, committed themselves to our instruction and guidance. "We," said they, "are in a miserable condition, and we need your help. We need your counsel and advice. We are in the fire, and we want you to put forth your hands and pull us out. Here are two roads; one, the road of light and peace, that leads to heaven; the other, the broad way of darkness, sin, and death, in which we have always been walking. We want you to direct us so that we may know how to choose the narrow way that leads to life." We blessed God who had put such longing desires into their hearts, and was thus giving us an opportunity of directing sinners to him. Nor could we doubt, that Providence called us to take these two individuals under our care and instruction, with special reference to the revival of pure religion among their countrymen. One of them was employed as a translator of the mission, and the other as teacher of a school for Armenian youth. These labors occupied only a part of each day, and the remainder was devoted to the study of the English language and the Bible. They soon found, that to be true Christians was something more than they had yet imagined. They began to fear and tremble, lest they should build their hopes upon a wrong foundation. These were to them days of heart-searching and sorrow; but, by the mercy of God, they were soon brought into the clear light of the Gospel, and led to trust, with a calm and joyful confidence, in Jesus Christ as the only and all-sufficient Saviour.

The next entry to be made upon this historic page, is the record of opposition. The love of Christ in the heart

will show itself in the life. The soul that hopes joyfully that sin is pardoned and heaven sure, will labor to put others in possession of the same precious blessing. And where, in this world, was such an effort faithfully made and true religion revived, without stirring up the powers of darkness in one way or another, to oppose? By secret clerical interference, both Armenian and Roman, the school was broken up. Immediately after, an Armenian jeweller of great respectability and influence, and withal, strongly attached to the doctrines and rites of his Church, had his mind wrought up into a state of great alarm, in reference to the course of these two young men, by the secret insinuations of a Roman priest. They were represented as being the hired tools of certain foreigners, employed to seduce the people, and lead them into dangerous heresy. The jeweller prevailed upon Peshtimaljian to summon the delinquents before him, in order to examine them as to the alleged heresy. He himself was present, and began the examination with great sternness and severity; charging them with violating their obligations to the Church, and dishonoring God. They were proceeding to vindicate themselves, when Peshtimaljian took the business wholly out of their hands, and poured upon the astonished jeweller such a flood of light, from history as well as Scripture, to show that their Church is wrong, and in many things idolatrous, that even the young men themselves were amazed. They afterwards had an opportunity of speaking for themselves, Peshtimaljian aiding them in their references to the Scriptures whenever their own memories failed; and the result was, that the jeweller was not only entirely satisfied that they were in the right, but immediately became himself an open and pow-

erful advocate of the Evangelical doctrines. Nor was this the only good that resulted from the hostile efforts of the officious Roman priest. The circumstance of the closing of the school, became a subject of some notoriety, and inquiry was elicited as to the cause, and some minds were put upon a new train of thought in regard to the differences existing, or alleged to exist, between the Scriptures and the Church. The conversion of a least one prominent individual, besides the jeweller, may be dated from this period. This was Mr. Sarkis Varjabed, teacher of grammar in the school of Peshtimaljian; a man held in high repute as a scholar in the ancient language of the Armenians, and possessed of many amiable and valuable qualities, and who afterwards became highly useful as a translator in connection with the mission.

Early in the autumn of 1833, the missionaries were invited to witness the ordination of fifteen Armenian priests at the Patriarchal church in Constantinople. None had been ordained for many years, in consequence of the new rule already alluded to, that only such as had received a regular education at the school of Peshtimaljian should be eligible for ordination. Accordingly, nearly all the candidates on the present occasion were comparatively well educated men; and one of them had a high reputation for learning. He had a peculiarly serious and devout appearance, and when, some days afterwards, we called upon him in his seclusion, in one of the cloisters of the Patriarchate, he seemed deeply impressed by the remarks made to him on the solemn responsibilities resting upon the office-bearers of the Church of Christ. On taking our leave, he feelingly begged an interest in our prayers, and when Mr. Goodell immediately uttered an audible sup-

plication for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon him, his whole appearance indicated that his soul gave a deep response to the petition. This was Der Kevork, a man whose subsequent influence in promoting the reformation was highly important, as will appear in the course of this history.

Up to this period, the missionary press had remained in Malta, and had been chiefly employed in printing in Greek and Italian; and the few books that had been prepared for the Armenians, were all, with one exception, in the Armeno-Turkish language. It now became obvious, that for the full prosecution of the work among the Armenians, the press must be employed much more vigorously than heretofore, and it was equally plain, that for this, its removal to Turkey was indispensably requisite. Arrangements were made accordingly, and on the 23d of December, 1833, the Rev. D. Temple, and Mr. Homan Hallock, missionary printer, arrived in Smyrna with the press, accompanied by bishop Dionysius, as Armenian translator. Every inch of ground, however, gained by Protestantism in the country, must be stoutly contested, and it was not to be expected that so important an advantage as the establishment of a Protestant press, would be quietly yielded without a struggle. A combination of Armenian and Roman influences, induced the Pasha peremptorily to order Mr. Temple's departure from Smyrna with only ten days' notice. Different motives actuated the different parties united in this hostile movement. The Romanists opposed, because of their settled hostility to Protestantism, and especially to a free Protestant press. The Armenians, on the other hand, were greatly excited and scandalized, by the appearance among them of one of

their own bishops, who had taken a wife, against the rules of the Church, and had entirely gone over to the Protestant religion. An ex-patriarch of the Armenians then residing at Smyrna, and who had long been a personal enemy of bishop Dionysius, made himself very active in these violent proceedings. The Pasha, who had acted hastily and under a misapprehension of the facts in the case, revoked his order, on hearing the explanations of the American Consul; but it was thought best that the bishop should return to Beirût, where he had formerly resided.

The indications of the special presence of the Holy Spirit became more numerous and decisive, and from many indubitable signs, it became more and more evident that God was about to do a great work among the Armenian people. A half a dozen Armenians and a few Greeks, had been in the habit of meeting weekly at Mr. Goodell's for religious instruction. These meetings had been gradually increasing in solemnity and interest. On the first Monday of January, 1834, the monthly concert was observed, for the first time, in the Turkish language. Intelligence was communicated from the missions, and every heart seemed deeply interested, and many eyes were suffused with tears. Our native brethren there received a new impulse to go on with their labors for the salvation of their own countrymen. The number steadily increased of those who frequented the houses of the missionaries, and the main topics of inquiry, instead of being about the manners and customs of people in America; about the arts and sciences; or about the external forms and ceremonies of religion, as had been too much the case, became deeply practical and spiritual, relating directly

to the salvation of the soul. In the course of the year, two or three priests in Constantinople were awakened, and thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Evangelical system. The Bible was much sought for and read; many eyes were opened to see the folly of their own superstitions; and a few, it is believed, were added to the number of sincere believers in Jesus Christ. The two young men whose interesting history has been briefly given, and who became our native assistants, were active in spreading the truth, and exerted no small amount of instrumentality in bringing about the results that followed.

Every effort made to induce the Armenian Ecclesiastical authorities to take the lead in enlarging and improving their schools having proved a failure, the mission at length determined to establish, independently, a High School in Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, having three principal objects in view. The first was, to educate promising boys and young men in useful branches, with the hope that in this way some at least would be prepared to take a leading part in the reform of their Church; the second, to stimulate the Armenians to efforts in this department by a practical exhibition of the benefits of education; and the third, to furnish a model school for them to imitate. The school was opened, October 27, 1834, under the superintendence of Mr. Paspati, a native of Scio, who had been educated in America, and who, by his religious character, as well as his intellectual training, proved himself to be well fitted for this post.

The accession of additional laborers from America to the Armenian field, is another in the combination of circumstances giving importance to the present year. The Rev. John B. Adger joined the Smyrna station during

the month of October, 1834, with instructions to devote himself to the Armenian branch of the mission. Two new stations were occupied, one at Brûsa, and the other at Trebizond; the former by the Rev. B. Schneider, and the latter by the Rev. T. P. Johnston. Brûsa is situated in the ancient province of Bithynia, at the foot of Mount Olympus, and is computed to have a population of about eighty or ninety thousand souls, five or six thousand of whom are Armenians.

Mr. Schneider arrived here with his family on the 15th of July, 1834. He had previously visited the place from Constantinople, in company with Mr. Goodell, and had left Mr. Hohannes Sahakian there to open a school among the Armenians on the Lancasterian plan. So far as could be seen on this first visit, both the Armenians and the Greeks were ready to give him a hearty welcome. On his return, however, he found the appearance of things somewhat changed, owing, as usual, to the hostility of some of the Ecclesiastics. The Greek Bishop forbade his people furnishing the missionary with a house, although one had previously been pledged to him by a prominent member of the Greek community. The independence of the owner enabled Mr. Schneider to secure a residence in spite of the bishop.

The room for the Armenian school, and the apparatus were in readiness, but ecclesiastical interference for awhile delayed the opening of the school. The vartabed of the Armenian Church, was the leading opposer, and he intimidated the people by telling them that "it was a Protestant concern, and that the children sent there would all become Lutherans." Several meetings of the Armenian Ecclesiastics and principal laymen were held,

and after much discussion and some altercation, it was decided to suffer the school to go on. On the first day, it was visited by some of the Armenian primates, accompanied by the vartabed, all of whom pronounced it "good." The same day, the names of seventy children were enrolled as pupils. Mr. Schneider's labors were at first divided between the Armenians and the Greeks.

Trebizond, the second new station occupied, is situated near the southeastern extremity of the Black Sea, and is supposed to be the precise spot where Xenophon, with his retreating army, first touched the sea. It has about 15,000 inhabitants, 1,250 of whom are Armenians. Its chief importance as a missionary station, arises from the fact of its being the principal sea-port of ancient Armenia, and its consequent influence over the proper country of the Armenian race. Mr. Johnston first visited it in November, 1834. Through priestly interference, he was foiled in three successive attempts to procure a house, and at last, he only secured a contract for one, on condition that he should obtain a firman from Constantinople, permitting him to reside there. Through the kind interposition of Commodore Porter, the United States Minister at the Porte, a Vizierial letter was procured ordering the Pasha of Trebizond to see that Mr. Johnston suffered no further molestation in regard to a place of residence; and he removed there with his family in the spring of 1835. The breaking out of the plague, however, prevented him from having much intercourse with the people for some months.

At the capital, the number of those who declared themselves Protestants rapidly increased. Not only in the city proper, but throughout the suburbs and the

villages on the Bosphorus, wherever Armenians were found, there was an increasing disposition to talk on religious subjects. In every circle where only three or four even were found in company, some were sure to be present who did not hesitate to avow the sentiment, that the Bible is the only infallible guide in matters of religion. And this was often done fearlessly, even though some of those present were very bigoted Armenians. The testimonies of the Lord proved indeed "wonderful," as the Psalmist says, in breaking down prejudice and removing the rubbish of centuries from the mind: "The entrance of thy words giveth light; it giveth understanding to the simple." It was our privilege to witness constantly the most striking illustrations of this among the people around us. As much as in us lay, we avoided controversy about forms and ceremonies; and instead of attacking directly the superstitions of the Church, we rather determined to "know nothing but Christ and him crucified." And it was truly marvellous how rapidly darkness was dissipated from the mind; and deep seated error, and inveterate bigotry, and a host of evil habits of thought, and wayward dispositions, which seemed to present insuperable barriers to reform, all vanished before the simple truth of God as it is found in his word. Not all, however, whose minds were somewhat awakened were led ultimately to decide in favor of the truth; and not all who fully renounced the errors of their Church, were led to feel the saving power of the Gospel on their hearts. Still it was a point of immense importance, that so many were ready to assent to the principle that the Bible, and not the Church, is the infallible religious teacher; and, in addition to this, cases of true spiritual

conversion were every now and then occurring. Among these may be placed Der Kevork, the most learned of the fifteen priests, whose ordination we witnessed. He then had charge of a school of about 400 boys, supported by the Armenians themselves, and in no way connected with the missionaries. He soon introduced the custom of reading the Scriptures daily, and explaining them to the whole school; and he also formed a class of twenty of his most promising scholars, for the critical study of the New Testament under his immediate direction.

One room in Mr. Goodell's house was always open for Armenians to come together and pray for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, on themselves and their "brethren, their kindred according to the flesh." One at least of the native brethren, being unmarried, established family prayer in his father's household; reading the Scriptures and praying daily with his mother and younger brother. This was in the summer of 1835, and, so far as we know, was the first instance of the kind among the Armenians. He also held a prayer meeting every evening, with a few of the students of the High School, and a Bible class on the Sabbath. The High School had now increased from three to thirty pupils, and it had also grown greatly in favor with the people. The English, French, Italian, Armenian, Turkish, Greek, and Hebrew languages were taught, as well as the mathematics, geography, &c., and lectures were given, illustrated by experiments, on various branches of the natural sciences. Mr. Paspati having left for Paris, Mr. Hohannes Sahakian was appointed to the superintendency of the school, assisted by several other teachers. Visitors of all classes were numerous, sometimes even incon-

veniently so, and the lectures were attended by many deeply-interested spectators.

Externally friendly relations were still preserved with the ecclesiastical authorities of the Armenian Church. That they did not openly oppose us, was not because they were not frequently and loudly warned by the emissaries of the Church of Rome; nor because there were none among them whose feelings were decidedly and strongly inimical. One cause of their forbearance was, no doubt, the sudden popularity of the Bible cause among high and low of the people; so that they were unable to divine how much strength might be arrayed against them, should they seriously set themselves to work to oppose the spread of the truth. Another, was the impossibility of agreeing among themselves exactly what measures of opposition to adopt. The Patriarch at this time, Stepan by name—the second that had been upon the throne since the establishment of the mission—was a man of mild and peaceable character, and not at all inclined to adopt severe measures. We had not infrequent intercourse with him, and he uniformly treated us with marked attention and respect. In the month of August, one of the highest of the Armenian primates, at whose house the Patriarch was a guest, sent a special invitation to the author to meet him there. The Patriarch expressed great delight at seeing me, and, turning to the circle of Armenians present, said: "This is *our friend.*" We have long since learned, however, that such expressions in the East are generally to be understood as having very little meaning. The vicar of the Patriarch, Boghos, while he was too well informed to be really bigoted, nevertheless found motives enough to urge him to

take hostile steps against the spreading reformation; though as yet he was sufficiently wise to do nothing openly. In an interview with the jeweler whose case has been mentioned, a question came up in reference to some passage of Scripture, when the latter took a copy of the New Testament from his pocket in order to refer to it.

The Vicar immediately reproved him for carrying about with him a New Testament, and said: "If you, a man of so much importance and influence, take such liberties, what will not the common people do?" Some days afterward, he said to a merchant, who was an evangelical man, though probably not known to the Vicar as such: "I see that all the people are running after the Bible, and I do not know what it is all coming to; but if there is to be an overturning in the Armenian Church, I shall be very happy if it comes after my day." In February, 1835, he became so anxious in regard to the spread of Protestantism, that he privately sent one of his priests to visit our High School. The priest took the number and names of the scholars, the names of their parents, &c., and by order of his superior, he removed one of his own sons who was among the pupils. The Vicar himself also took occasion to question, very closely, one of the scholars whom he met in the church, as to his studies, and the instructions given to him by the Americans, &c., &c. There can be no doubt, that he now meditated some decisive steps in order to put a stop, if possible, to the school; but either its great popularity, or some other consideration, deterred him. Several high vartabeds and bishops of the Armenian Church some of whom had been known to us for years, were at this time on terms of friendly intimacy with the missionaries. It

was not at all uncommon for them to express the decided conviction, that the truth was with us ; and some few of them seemed, at times, almost on the point of yielding their hearts to its influence. In general, however, they were men of no fixed religious principles ; ready to be turned in any direction, according to the wishes of a few influential men, on whose favor their advancement in office and emolument depended. Of course it can easily be understood, how men of this character, whether actually in a station of power, or only seeking or expecting such a post, should one day exhibit great friendliness towards us, and the next, in order to please some rich and influential bigot among the people, assume an attitude of hostility.

An illustration of this is found in the conduct of Matteos, the newly appointed bishop of Brûsa. He was formerly situated in a village on the Bosphorus, and was one of the earliest friends of our mission, among the higher Armenian Ecclesiastics, having imbibed many enlightened views of the truth. Even after his removal to Brûsa, he expressed to us, by letter, the most friendly sentiments ; and when Mr. Schneider called upon him, soon after his arrival, he avowed, in very decided terms, his approbation of the school, recently established by the mission in Brûsa. Not many months elapsed, however, before this school was entirely broken up, through the influence of this same prelate, who also endeavored, in other ways, to circumscribe the operations of the missionaries. His subsequent hostile acts in Brûsa, will be noticed in their proper place ; as well as more recent ones, in a wider sphere, and of a far more extended and important influence. On account of the melancholy interest connected

with the history of this man, it is well that the reader should here be apprised, that he is the individual who afterwards made himself so notorious as, MATTEOS PATRIARCH, THE PERSECUTOR OF THE PROTESTANTS IN TURKEY.

The Brûsa station was strengthened by the arrival of the Rev. P. O. Powers and wife, in February, 1835. Being intended for the Armenian department of the mission, in the month of October he took up his abode in the Armenian quarter of the town,—Mr. Schneider continuing to reside among the Greeks. From this station, within the first eighteen months after its establishment, more than a thousand copies of the Scriptures, and more than fifteen hundred school books were distributed, besides a considerable number of religious tracts, many of them having been carried to remote places in the interior. It is true that most of these books were in the Greek language, our press not having as yet furnished many for the Armenians; and yet, many copies of the New Testament, both in the Armeno-Turkish, and the modern Armenian, were numbered among them.

The preparation of books and tracts in these last-named languages, became more and more an object of attention, and Mr. Hallock, the missionary printer, visited the United States to superintend the manufacture, at New York, of punches for making Armenian type for the press in Smyrna; and the liberal sum of five thousand dollars was appropriated to this object, and for the purchase of materials for a foundry and printing office, by the Prudential Committee. Mr. Sarkis, one of the pious Armenians in Constantinople, and an eminent scholar in his own language and literature, removed to Smyrna, to be

employed as translator, in connection with the press, under the superintendence of Mr. Adger.

On new year's day, 1836, Mr. Goodell and myself called on Stepan, the Armenian Patriarch, accompanied by Mr. Homes, who joined the Constantinople station, near the close of December. When the Patriarch was informed that Mr. Homes had recently arrived from Paris, he enquired after European news. Among other things, Mr. H. stated, that in Spain and Portugal a great change had recently taken place in one respect, namely, that now the Sacred Scriptures may be circulated freely among the people. At this the Patriarch expressed great astonishment, and asked, with much earnestness : "Are they not *Christians* there ?" The incident is related chiefly as an illustration of the character of the high dignitary who put this question. There is no reason to doubt his sincerity, and yet, a predecessor on the same throne, did prohibit the circulation of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and so also his two successors in office have done, as well as the great Synod of the whole Armenian Church at Echmiadzin. It must be regarded as a great providential favor, that, in this stage of the reformation, a man of so quiet and peaceable a disposition, and so little disposed to interfere with the private rights of conscience, was called to occupy this important post. This same individual, some years afterwards, in another sphere, was induced by a regard to certain rich and powerful members of the community, to sanction, by official acts, such measures of oppression and persecution, as would now have been perfectly abhorrent to his feelings.

Such was the desire of those who had come under our influence, for religious instruction, that, near the begin-

ning of 1836, two weekly meetings were established in Constantinople, one of which was conducted by Mr. Goodell, and the other by Mr. Schauffler, in the Turkish language. Although no very remarkable incident occurred for many months, in connection with the reformation, yet we had almost daily evidences of the progress of the work. It was like the spreading of leaven, for the most part silent, but sure. Our intercourse with the Armenian people of all classes, was never more free, and on the whole, never more satisfactory. Our houses were frequented by ecclesiastics, as well as laymen, some four or five of the former, chiefly from among the parochial clergy, appearing to be sincere inquirers after the truth. One of these, attached to the Patriarchal Church, proposed, of his own accord, that we should publish a new and revised edition of the modern Armenian New Testament; so that all the people might have access to the Word of God in an intelligible language. He offered to subscribe five hundred piastres, (about $23) himself, towards the object, and to procure more from others. It was gratifying to see some of the most influential vartabeds at the patriarchate, disposed to encourage, rather than hinder us in our educational efforts. They often visited our High School, and on a certain occasion, when an assistant teacher, who was an Armenian, was dismissed for bad conduct; two of them came expressly to intercede with us for his return; and on our agreeing to receive him again on trial, they called up the delinquent, and read him a long lecture on the necessity of reforming his conduct, and after procuring from him the most positive promises of good behavior, they sent him back to us, with a letter offering to be responsible for him.

It was now not an uncommon thing, to hear of one and another of the bishops and vartabeds, preaching what were called evangelical sermons; that is, instead of bringing forward the legends of the saints, as they had been wont, attempting to draw their instructions from the Sacred Scriptures. This was one of the signs of the times; indicating, at least, a change in the people, who required such preaching, if not in the ecclesiastics who gave it. Subsequent facts have shown, in regard to most of the latter, that public opinion, at that time somewhat clamorous for reform, more than personal conviction and interest in the subject, led to this new style of address. Instances of greater frankness and honesty, however, were not wanting. Some could not conceal the hostility of their hearts. A preacher of distinction, uttered the following sentiment in one of his sermons:—"Many in these days decry fasting, and pretend that fasts are not binding. Let all such be anathematized. If they say that fasting is not enjoined in the Scriptures, let them know that the first command given to Adam and Eve, was to abstain from eating the fruit of a certain tree, which was, in fact, fasting"! A female who was present, on leaving the church, remarked, "I never hear our preachers preach about anything else but fasting and money. They never preach the Gospel."

One of our brethren, who was rather prominent as a reformer, was publicly accused of infidelity by a priest; and on the following Sabbath, one of the vartabeds of the Church denounced him before the people, as a heretic and an infidel, whose case was soon to be tried by a council of ecclesiastics and laymen. It would seem to be reversing the natural and proper order of things, first to con-

demn a man publicly, and then institute a court of inquiry to investigate the charges brought against him! But this is not an unusual occurrence in the East, either in Church or State. The council was afterwards held, and although the accused declared plainly that he had no confidence whatever in the mediation of the saints, and that he received the Gospel as his only and all-sufficient guide;—yet he was fully acquitted. He had previously expressed to a vartabed, some apprehension as to the result of this investigation, and he received for his comfort the following reply: "You have nothing to fear, for there are many now like you, who think and talk according to the Gospel, and you are by no means alone." It was very evident that among those inimical to this movement, there prevailed at this time very exaggerated notions of the number who had actually embraced evangelical sentiments, and who were now frequently called "evangelical infidels." Some said that there were at least eight hundred of them in the city of Constantinople alone. If reference is had to those who had clear and distinct views of what are called the evangelical doctrines, and were prepared to adhere to them at all hazards, in opposition to the dogmas and practices of the Church; this was undoubtedly an enormous exaggeration. And yet there may have been even a larger number, who had felt, in different degrees, the influence of the truth; and in the midst of the religious discussions, then so common in every part of the capital, were forward to speak against certain abuses of the Church. This gave an impression of the strength of the evangelical party not founded in truth, though it operated, for some time, as a check upon those who otherwise might

have resorted to measures of open violence, to put down the work.

The distant rumblings of a gathering storm, were, however, now and then heard; and we had occasion to know that the most diligent and persevering efforts were made, by certain adherents of the Romish Church, to stir up the Armenians against us. Hitherto, no direct means had been used by us, to enlighten that portion of the Armenian race, who acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. They may amount, perhaps, to fifteen or twenty thousand, having a Patriarch of their own, according to usage in Turkey. In July of 1836 this functionary felt himself called upon to come out with a public denunciation of all our books, including the New Testament. And, what is quite worthy of remark, he expressly prohibited his people from purchasing or procuring from us, copies of an edition of the Armenian Scriptures which had been printed at their own press in Venice, and purchased several years before for cheap circulation, by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

As has been more than once intimated, we had not felt it to be our duty to attack directly the superstitions of the Armenian Church, having all along acted on the principle, that the readiest method of eradicating error from the mind, is to pour in the truth. We were not, therefore, surprised to find, that as the people became instructed in the word of God, through the operation of their own minds, one superstition after another was discovered and rejected. An old gentleman one day came to me with the following complaint, in reference to an adopted son, who had been under our instruction, though we had never said a word to him about fasts, or confession. "He

does not keep his fasts, nor would he go to confession until I finally compelled him; and then he made a very singular kind of confession to the priest. He first told the priest that he acknowledged only the Scriptures as his rule of faith and practice; and rejected whatever is not derived from them, or conformed to them; and that, as to the saints and the fasts of the Church, he knew nothing about them." It may here be remarked, that at this period, the Armenian priests were remarkably lenient towards the evangelical brethren, in the matter of confession; and the latter, while conforming externally to this ordinance of the Church, protested against the claim of absolution by a priest, and made use of the ceremony as the occasion of communicating to their spiritual guides, many enlightened views of the Gospel.

On another occasion, at a large public school, at which I was present, after the boys, in going through the usual closing religious ceremonies in the afternoon, had crossed themselves rapidly some fifty or sixty times; the principal teacher, whose name was Bedros, turned to me with an air of mortification, and said, "What does this crossing mean; and how has it been introduced into the Church?" He then expressed the opinion, that it was first used, simply as an external sign, by which Christians, when among inimical Jews and Heathens, silently recognized one another: "But," said he, "it is now unnecessary, or at least, there is no need of repeating it as we do. My name, you know, is Bedros; now what would be the use of my repeating a great number of times to you; 'my name is Bedros; my name is Bedros,'" &c., &c.

As another illustration of the workings of the mind and conscience, under the gradual apprehension of the truth,

it may be mentioned that about this time, a formal visit was made to the missionaries, by four Armenians, whose object was to ascertain their duty in regard to certain ceremonies of their Church, towards which their attention had been strongly directed, without any of our agency. While among the evangelical brethren, a growing conscientiousness was constantly manifested, we were also often surprised to hear, from the lips even of those who had hitherto shown nothing but worldliness and indifference, such expressions as evinced a sudden waking up to the evil of sin, and to the actual plague of their own hearts. Said a man, one day, to a missionary, "I am a great sinner." *Ans.* Yes, but Jesus Christ is a great Saviour; and he is always near and ready to save. "Yes," he quickly answered, "he has saved you, and now it is my prayer that he may save me also."

If a description of the character of this work were desired in a few words, it could not, perhaps, be better expressed, than in the following sentence from the pen of Mr. Goodell, written early in 1836:—"As to the great work of reform which has been steadily advancing among the Armenians, for the last two or three years; and of which we think it our duty to give you much more full accounts in time to come, for your encouragement as well as ours; I will merely remark, that the character of the work seems to be just this—*a simple and entire yielding up of the heart and life to the sole direction of God's Word and Spirit.*"

The gospel had now been proclaimed to multitudes of people by conversation in private circles, both in the Turkish and Armenian languages, for many years; and a formal expository service had been held in Turkish, by

Mr. Goodell, for some time. The first regular sermon in the Armenian tongue, was preached, however, by Mr. Dwight, on the 9th of September, 1836, to a small select company in his own house. The monthly concert of prayer increased in interest; and one of these occasions is worthy of special record in this place. It was becoming more and more evident, as the year 1836 advanced, that the ecclesiastical rulers of the Armenian Church were gathering up their strength to oppose the progress of the reformation. Still we felt that they were not altogether to be censured, considering their circumstances, but also to be pitied; that, instead of ranking them with the incorrigible enemies of God, we should endeavor to speak of them with kindness, and cherish towards them feelings of prayerful tenderness. It was agreed, therefore, among the missionaries at Smyrna and Constantinople, that the day should be especially devoted to prayer for the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of the country, and particularly the latter. The season was one of special interest, and all seemed to esteem it a privilege, to supplicate the descent of the Holy Spirit upon "all bishops, priests, and deacons;" that they might be candid men, open to conviction, ready to understand and do their duty, submissive to the authority of Zion's King; or at least that God would so order and control their purposes and acts, that his own people, under their jurisdiction, might "lead quiet and peaceable lives, in all godliness and honesty."

It was pleasing to see, that through the influence of the mission and the native brethren, female education, which had been almost entirely neglected, was beginning to attract attention, both at Constantinople and Smyrna. At the capital, no regular school for females had yet been

opened, but, in some instances, parents were providing for their daughters the means of instruction, and one at least of the evangelical brethren, had a class of some twelve or fourteen Armenian girls who were learning to read. In Smyrna, a school for Armenian girls was established by the mission, in the summer of 1836. A commodious room was secured, and it was furnished with benches, desks, cards, frames, &c., and the school was opened with the express approbation of a number of influential men in the community. In the course of the first week more than forty girls attended. Owing to one or two jealous spirits, however, a meeting of the community was soon called, and it was agreed to take the new enterprise into their own hands. It was cheerfully relinquished to them by the missionaries, who were thankful they had been the means of calling into existence a school for females, which was sure to do good, though it did not retain a direct connection with the mission.

In Brûsa, there were many among the Armenians who professed friendly feelings towards the missionaries; but in general, spiritually considered, the silence and insensibility of death reigned among them. The bishop Matteos showed more openly a hostile disposition, though he did not yet see his way clear to take decided ground against the mission. Mr. Schneider was applied to by an Armenian priest from Erzrûm, a place about seven or eight hundred miles in the interior, for a quantity of Armenian and Armeno-Turkish New Testaments, for distribution among the poor. A missionary tour, performed by Messrs. Schneider and Powers in the autumn of 1836, to the large town of Kûtayh, was only one of a series of similar efforts made by the brethren of that station, the

results of which cannot at once be seen, but are notwithstanding of inestimable consequence. Nor can we say less of a tour made by Mr. Johnston of Trebizond, to Tocat, Sivas, Erzengan, Erzrûm, and other places in Asia Minor and Armenia, during the summer of the same year. To these visits of missionary brethren to the interior, accompanied, as they usually were, by some one of the converted Armenians, must be ascribed much of that spirit of inquiry, which subsequently was found so extensively to prevail.

The station at Trebizond was reinforced in August, 1836, by the arrival of the Rev. W. C. Jackson and wife.

CHAPTER III.

Opposition of the Hierarchy—Influence of the Bankers—Their Character—Breaking up of the High School—School at Has Keuy—Remarkable Providence—Influence of the New School—Light Spreading—Perplexity of the Priests—Opposition Spreading—Friendly Vartabed—Missionary Convention—The Plague—Removal of Pictures—Decline of the Has Keuy School—Origin of the Work in Nicomedia—Two Converted Priests—Divine Influences at Brûsa and Trebizond—Arrival of Mr. Riggs.

HITHERTO, whatever opposition the truth had encountered was raised by individuals, as such, and aimed chiefly at individuals among the reformers. No open and official action of the proper ecclesiastical authorities had yet been taken. The Armenian hierarchy had not yet committed itself as antagonistic to the reform. The opening of the year 1837, however, tells a different tale. A system of spiritual oppression and tyranny, based upon popular ignorance and superstition, cannot long bear the ordeal of free inquiry and discussion, in the light that proceeds from the Word of God. That the Armenian Church had far departed from the simple doctrine of Christ, and that its religious teachers had imposed upon the people what was human for what was divine, was now understood by many, and was rapidly spreading from

mouth to mouth. Something must be done to give a check to the freedom of inquiry, and awe the people into continued submission to the priests. The thing first to be accomplished, was to withdraw the Armenians from the influence of the missionaries, who were felt to be the misehievous authors of the evil. Those who were most interested in perpetuating the old system, would of course be the first to move in the matter. And who could be more interested than the clergy? There are only two conceivable motives by which a man may be induced to enter the ministry of any church—namely, benevolence or selfishness; the desire to do good, or the love of money, power, and honor. If there is true piety in the soul, and the love of Christ is the absorbing passion; then, it is plain, the benevolent motive will prevail. But if the individual is a merely worldly man, it is impossible to believe that he enters the sacred office with any other than a selfish end. And who needs to be told, at this age of the world, what a supremely worldly and selfish spirit will lead a man to do in circumstances of temptation; what deception, oppression, and extortion it will lead him to practice, when the opportunity offers? The history of the Armenian hierarchy, as written by their own people, has been, for centuries past, a history of ambition, avarice, and cruelty. Nor is there the least evidence that any change had taken place for the better, previous to the beginning of the present religious movement among the people. No candid person, acquainted with the facts in the case, could be in the least surprised, that the ruling clergy, generally, should exert themselves to perpetuate, if possible, the prevailing superstitions, and of course to oppose the reform.

But they could not move alone in this business. The sanction of the bankers must be obtained. And here it is necessary to give a few words of explanation. The principal bankers in the country, at that time, belonged to the Armenian community. Some of them were immensely rich, and of course influential, even with the Turkish government itself. According to the system then prevailing, the Pashas and governors of the empire derived their support, not by a salary from the government, but by taxes, levied by themselves, on the produce of the territory over which they had jurisdiction, and by extortion. Every Pasha had his banker, who furnished him with money on interest, when out of office, or when newly-appointed to office, receiving his pay by participating in the spoils filched afterwards from the poor people. This arrangement, it will be seen, gave great power into the hands of these capitalists; so that it was virtually true, that, although nominally Christians, nearly all the important appointments of the government were in their hands. Within their own community, of course, their word was law. Patriarchs were elected and deposed by them; through them, bishops and vartabeds received their appointments to dioceses and churches. It generally happened, that some three, or four, or five, of the richest and most powerful of these men, in truth, if not in form, decided every question of any importance, pertaining to the civil or ecclesiastical affairs of the Armenian nation. Sometimes a public meeting would be called, of the more important members of the community, but it mattered little whether the form were gone through with or not; the decision rested with these four or five men; and whatever they determined upon, was every-

where popularly spoken of as having been determined by *the community*. As a class, they were ignorant and bigoted, and, therefore, fit tools for designing ecclesiastics.* Unacquainted with the Bible, to a great extent, and with church history, ancient and modern, they were, in general, quite ready to believe any misrepresentations of Protestantism which their own religious guides should give them; and no doubt many of them really believed, as they were told, that the missionaries, under the show of religion were endeavoring to propagate the worst infidelity.

It is easy to see how, in this state of things, any individual office-bearer in the Church, whether high or low, even to the very Patriarch himself, might be deterred from acting, in his official capacity, according to the policy dictated by his own mind. Some rival in the holy orders, even much lower than himself in rank, might, through his superior influence with one or more of these bankers, procure the removal from office of the obnoxious individual.

In the case before us, the Patriarch himself seems to have been nearly passive; and his Vicar, to have been the willing agent for executing the stringent measures that were adopted. It was resolved in the counsels of the Armenian community, that is, by a few bankers, as a first step, to break up our High School. In preparation for this, a large college had been founded some months before, at Scûtary; and the public school, superintended by Der Kevork, in the quarter of Has Keuy, had been committed

* Individual exceptions were found to this description of very notable character, as will be seen in the course of this narrative.

to the general supervision of one of the great bankers residing there, a truly noble-spirited man, that it might be remodeled according to his own wishes, so a to make it a first-rate school. As learning was now becoming popular, these were necessary steps in order to reconcile the people to the shutting up of the American High School. Near the close of January, 1837, the parents of our scholars were summoned before the Vicar, and peremptorily ordered to withdraw their sons from the school. Some of the boys themselves were also called up and interrogated as to what things they had been taught. After enumerating several studies, the Vicar asked, with some impatience, "Have they (the missionaries) not told you not to make the sign of the cross, because it is not enjoined in the Scriptures?" The boys were startled at the question, which they very promptly answered in the negative. They then, in fact, for the first time, learned that making the sign of the cross is not enjoined in the Scriptures! Sorrow was depicted on every face, as our pupils came back to get their books, and say their farewells; but we endeavored to comfort them, as well as ourselves, under the trial, by expressing our belief that God would bring good out of this evil, and provide for their instruction in some other way, if they desired to be taught. This school had now been in successful operation for more than two years, and had already accomplished much good; but, as the sequel proved, God designed to make its downfall the means of still greater good.

There is proof enough that the plan of the opposing party in this case, was, after breaking up the school, to procure, from the Turkish government, the banishment

of Mr. Sahakian, its Principal, and several others, who were considered most influential among the evangelical brethren. Great was their astonishment when they heard, that no sooner was this hated individual released, by their act, from his connection with us, than he was engaged by the banker of Has Keuy, to take the superintendence of the great national school, which had been placed by them in his hands! Remonstrance was in vain. Again and again did the Vicar, and the other bankers also, use their utmost endeavors to persuade him to change his purpose. They first tried to prevail upon him not to adopt the new system of instruction, which they said was the *American* system. To this he replied, that he knew nothing of the Americans, but had adopted this system because it was good, and he had been instructed, when the school was given over to his hands, to make it the very best possible.

They then objected to the Principal, saying that he was evangelical in sentiment. To this the banker replied, "So am I also evangelical." Nearly three weeks were spent in efforts to induce this distinguished individual to yield the point, but in vain. He declared, positively, that if they did not permit him to go on with the school in his own way, he would withdraw entirely from the Armenian community. But he was a man they did not like to lose; being among the richest and most influential of the bankers. At length, a providential circumstance, which rendered it necessary for the leading man of the opposing party, to throw himself on his clemency, in a business transaction, decided the question; and a school of *six hundred* scholars (instead of *forty*, which was our number) was soon in successful operation, under the super-

intendence of Mr. Hohannes Sahakian; having Der Kevork, the pious priest, for one of its principal teachers!

A more marked example of the over-ruling providence of God, causing the wrath of man to praise him, could not well be found. The banker spoke the truth when he said he knew nothing of the Americans. Up to the time when he so decidedly avowed and maintained himself as the patron of Mr. Sahakian, and, in fact, of the evangelical cause; he was wholly unknown to the missionaries and the evangelical brethren generally; and the conclusion is irresistible, that the hand of God was in this whole thing. This individual was raised up for this very crisis, to protect the school, and defend the friends of the Gospel; and in doing this work, to which God in his providence called him, he was as firm and immovable, as if he had been established in the truth for years.

Not only did the Has Keuy school far exceed ours in numbers, but even in its religious influence. It was formally adopted as the school of the nation, and Mr. Sahakian received a regular appointment from the Armenian Synod, as its Principal. He had, therefore, more liberty of action, and could give religious instruction officially, and of course with less danger of exciting suspicion, than in a school supported by foreigners. He devoted an hour a day to this special purpose, in a select class of sixty of the most advanced pupils; besides more general instruction, and the daily good influence exerted by himself and Der Kevork.

There was a liberal course of study adopted, and the school was arranged, throughout, after the model of our own. Lectures were given in the natural sciences, the whole of our philosophical apparatus having been pur-

chased and paid for, by the directors. In short, this new Institution soon became deservedly popular throughout the city, and it is impossible to estimate the amount of encouragement and support, the mere fact of its existence gave to the cause of evangelical piety in the country.

There was now much more boldness on the part of many, in endeavoring to spread the truth. It was particularly pleasing, however, to see that the triumph of our brethren did not elate them; but seemed rather to lead to a more humble and trustful spirit, and a closer walk with God. Some in high places openly avowed their belief in "this new way." Two of this character were found in the very Synod itself. Our pious priests were active in doing good. Der Kevork, especially, spent much time in going from house to house, reading the Scriptures to the people, and exhorting them to obey the Gospel. The light of true evangelical piety seemed to be kindled up in every part of the city. In almost every quarter, at least one individual could be found, who was as "a burning and a shining light," in the midst of surrounding darkness.

Some of the unenlightened priests were greatly perplexed in their visits among their people. One of them called at a house where the wife as well as the husband had embraced the Gospel. Her little son brought out a copy of the New Testament, probably by his mother's direction, and opened to various places, and asked such questions as perfectly astonished the priest, many of which he could not answer. He managed to speedily change the subject; but the woman soon came in, and with an expression of much surprise, exclaimed, "What! are you already tired of talking about the Bible, that you

have so soon laid it aside? Are you not a priest, and can you find anything more important to talk about?" "Now," said she, "I wish to ask you one question. Do you suppose that when our Saviour first instituted the Lord's Supper, he wore those splendid robes, and that mitre set with diamonds, and carried such a golden staff as our bishops do at mass?" The priest related this story himself afterwards to a brother priest, adding, "These are what I call new notions, and Constantinople is full of such doctrine."

The spirit of opposition that had been awakened in high quarters in Constantinople, soon extended itself to Brûsa. Already, as we have seen, fit instruments were prepared in that place, for any amount of hostility to the work of Christ that might be thought expedient; and the usual stimulus to activity on the part of the enemy, namely, progress in religion, was not wanting. The number of visitors at the houses of the missionaries was increasing; and two young teachers in the Armenian public school exhibited marks of special interest in the subject of personal religion. They were among the first to make the acquaintance of Mr. Powers, when he took up his residence in the Armenian quarter of the city; and after some little delay, both of them became his regular pupils for the study of the English language, as well as that of the Bible. One of these young men had the sole charge of about fifty or sixty of the most advanced scholars, to whom he gave daily instruction from the word of God. As he himself grew in spiritual knowledge, his desire was increased to communicate it to those entrusted to his care. Soon, it was resolved by the principal men in the Armenian community at Brûsa, that, in

view of the exceeding great ignorance of the common priests generally, a class of boys should be selected and placed under the instruction of Mr. Seropé, for that was the name of the teacher to be trained for the priest's office; and accordingly, eight of the most promising lads, were selected and set apart for this purpose. Before the end of the year 1837, both of these teachers gave some evidence of a change of heart. Long before this, however, some of the priests attempted to prevent their people from frequenting the houses of the missionaries. One in particular, was very active in going about and charging his flock to have no intercourse with the foreigners; and a neighbor of Mr. Powers, on the opposite side of the street, was ordered to keep a strict watch upon Mr. P.'s door, and report who came and went. This individual proved to be not very faithful to his charge. He was, in fact, friendly to the missionaries, and instead of reporting to the priest, he communicated to some of Mr. Powers' visitors, what had been said to him, and advised them as a friend, for the time being, to come but seldom and that privately.

At Trebizond, an attempt was made to gather a school, but only two Armenian children could be procured. With them were associated a very few Greeks. Not an individual was found at this time, among the Armenians, who showed any signs of a new spiritual life; and yet, as American missionaries were there, something must be done by the ecclesiastical authorities to counteract their influence. The vartabed of the place received a letter from his Patriarch at Constantinople, denouncing the missionaries, their schools, their books, and everything pertaining to them; and ordering him to look well to his flock, lest any should be seduced. The vartabed replied

to the Patriarch, that he might rest easy in regard to the Armenians of Trebizond, for they were a poor, ignorant people, not at all given to curiosity, nor in danger of of running after any novelties. This representation was, at that time, too true. They had not curiosity enough to lead them to inquire whether their religion were true or false. The vartabed himself showed great friendliness to the missionaries; and, indeed, it was from him that Mr. Johnston learned, for the first time, that such a letter had been received from the Patriarch. The number of Armenian visitors at the houses of the missionaries, afterwards gradually increased; so that one result of this hostile effort from Constantinople, was, that curiosity was stimulated into existence, and some, at least, put themselves in the way of hearing something new, that might prove of infinite value to them.

It is worthy of record in this place, that during the month of September, of the year 1837, a convention of missionaries was held in Smyrna, which evidently had an important influence for good, both on the minds and hearts of those present, and on the subsequent plans and labors of the missionaries in the Levant. The chief object was, to ascertain, by prayerful inquiry, the mistakes and deficiencies of the past, both in regard to personal qualifications for the work, and the means and measures adopted for bringing the claims of the gospel in contact with the hearts of the people. Recent afflictive dispensations in the mission, had produced a mellowed tone of Christian feeling, which greatly prepared the minds of the brethren for a profitable discussion of these subjects. The Lord was felt to be indeed present, and it is believed that each one returned to the toils of missionary life,

with a more prayerful and confiding spirit, and a more fixed purpose of heart, to make the salvation of the soul the immediate and all-absorbing object of labor, and the preaching of "Jesus Christ, and him crucified," the grand means.

Mr. Adger was enabled to commence an expository service in Smyrna, in the Armenian language, at which some five or six were usually present. His translator, Mr. Sarkis, from Constantinople, had increasing intercourse with the people; and Armenian mothers began to be eloquent in their lamentations over the neglected education of their daughters. Up to the first of January, 1838, there were printed, at the Smyrna press, about two and a half million pages in the Armenian language. A pocket edition of the New Testament, in ancient Armenian, was completed on the last day of the year 1837.

The plague, that scourge of Turkey, was permitted this year to enter the family of the author, and a beloved wife and child became its victims. This afflictive dispensation called forth the tenderest expression of sympathy, from the native brethren and other friends of the missionaries; and, in various ways, it was truly a sanctified, though most sorrowful event. This terrible disease, in its annual visitations to the capital, and other parts of the Turkish Empire, has proved a far more serious obstacle to missionary labor, than can well be imagined at home. The season of the plague was a season of non-intercourse, to a very great extent. Schools must be closed; public worship suspended; and the giving and receiving of visits, in a great measure interrupted. This has happened, again and again, at all our stations. Sometimes, when we had made a successful and promising

beginning of some new plan of usefulness, this dreadful scourge would come down upon us with all its violence, and suddenly arrest the enterprise, and frustrate all our hopes. And in such a country as Turkey, when a school is closed, or public worship suspended for several months, more ground may be lost than can be gained in a whole year. What abundant cause have we for gratitude, therefore, that for twelve years past, we have been living in Turkey exempt from the plague! This is accounted for by the fact, that, during this period, the system of quarantines has been in vogue; and experiment seems thus to have established, what before was theory with many—namely, that the disease never originated in Constantinople, but was imported chiefly from Egypt.

As the doctrines of the gospel gained a hold on the hearts of the people, superstitions gave way; and, as error became eradicated from the mind, the external symbols of that error were naturally removed from use and from sight. The progress of correct religious opinion was evinced, especially, by the gradual disappearance of pictures from the Armenian churches. In one instance, near the beginning of the year 1838, the vartabed and leading men in the large village of Orta Keuy, on the Bosphorus, went together to the church, and carefully removed every picture, except the altar pieces, which were so situated that they could not be approached for worship. In the apartment assigned to the females, where pictures are considered especially necessary, not a solitary one was left. It is an interesting fact, that this is the very village in which the missionaries resided, when they first began to get access to the Armenians. The Patriarch Stepan was apparently well convinced

that the superstitions of his Church must, ere long, disappear before the light of the truth. He remarked to one of the native brethren, that many of the observances in their Church were not prescribed by the gospel, and that probably they would not exist ten years longer.

The reformation was daily gaining strength. The converted Armenians were never more active, or prayerful. They delighted in the communion of saints; and they also sought and found frequent opportunities for religious conversation with their fellow-countrymen, who, as yet, had not felt the power of the gospel. Mr. Sahakian continued his connection with the High School at Has Keuy, and his opportunities for usefulness were many and great. The less advanced scholars in this school were taught according to the Lancasterian system, and this was now getting into favor with the Armenians; so that other schools, on the same plan, were established in different quarters of the city and suburbs. Application was always made to us for assistance in getting these schools in operation, and they were quite ready to use the cards we had prepared and printed, for the purpose.

After the middle of the year 1838, it became evident that the great school at Has Keuy must go down. Its illustrious patron had hitherto sustained it alone. This he would cheerfully have continued to do, but among neither the primates, nor the clergy of his nation, did he find that encouragement and support, to which he felt justly entitled; and not only so, but, by various significant signs, he was given to understand that there was a growing dissatisfaction with the school, as then organized, among the leading men in the Armenian community; partly owing to jealousy, and partly to religious

zeal, directed against Mr. Sahakian, its principal. This determined him to abandon the undertaking altogether; and before the close of the year most of the teachers were dismissed, and the school reduced to its former footing. Many of the people were strongly in favor of its continuance, and particularly the leading men of the village where it was located; and they sent a delegation to the Patriarch, to implore his aid, to prevent the approaching disaster. All they obtained from him was—fair promises that were never fulfilled.

Mr. Sahakian, being thrown out of employment, was very gladly taken up by the mission. The necessity had been for some time becoming more and more obvious, of having a man to superintend the distribution of our books, which were rapidly increasing in number. To this post Mr. Sahakian was appointed, with the confident expectation that it would prove a station of great usefulness.

The kingdom of Christ now began to make evident inroads on the kingdom of Satan, in the interior of the country. We had heard, early in the year 1837, with the highest gratification, that two Armenian priests, in Nicomedia, who had never seen a missionary, had been converted to the truth. One of these individuals afterwards came to Constantinople, and visited the missionaries. His whole appearance was that of a man of a most devout and humble spirit; and, from his conversation, it was evident that he had inward experience of the grace of God. The doctrine of salvation, by grace alone, was quite familiar and very precious to him; and he readily discriminated between a living and a dead faith. Nothing could be more plain, than that this individual

and his brother priest, had been led, by a way they knew not, to embrace the truth as it is in Christ. The Holy Spirit was their teacher and guide; and, while surrounded by the deepest moral darkness, and having no help from any living preacher's voice, they were brought to rejoice in the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ. The circumstances of their conversion were peculiar. In 1832, Mr. Goodell made a tour from Constantinople to Brûsa, which carried him through Nicomedia. Here he left, with an old priest, a copy of the Armeno-Turkish New Testament, and gave, to some Armenian boys, several tracts in the same language. One of these tracts—a translation of the Dairyman's Daughter—fell into the hands of another priest, whom Mr. Goodell did not see. The perusal of it was the means of awakening his mind to serious inquiry, in regard to his own religious condition. "If this is true religion," said he to himself, "then, as yet, I have no religion." He now began in good earnest, to study the Word of God; and the farther he advanced, the more he was satisfied that all his former grounds of hope were delusive, and that he needed an entire renovation of character, in order to be saved. He soon ventured to intimate to a brother priest, in the same Church, who was ordained with him, and had always been a confidential friend, the change his mind had undergone. At first he was repulsed. The Church must be right, and any deviation from her teachings must be heresy. His companion, however, could not refuse to read the Bible, when urged to do so; and it was not long before the truth flashed upon his mind also, with the clearness of the noon-day sun. Their united prayers and efforts were now directed to the enlightenment and conversion

of their flock. Such, however, was the degree of ignorance and prejudice prevailing, that the utmost caution was necessary. The spirit of inquiry began to spread among the people. Hitherto, no missionary had been there since the work commenced. In the spring of 1838, the author visited the place. It is situated at the head of a gulf, bearing the same name with the town stretching out from the eastern extremity of the sea of Marmora; and is about fifty miles due east from the city of Constantinople. It was formerly the capital of Bythinia, and was also the residence of Constantine, and several of his successors, at least during a part of each year. Here Diocletian also held his court, when he issued his first edicts against the Christians, and here the horrid work of persecution first began. I found sixteen individuals who appeared to be truly converted men. They conversed on the great truths of the gospel, with a degree of seriousness, earnestness, and intelligence, which was truly surprising. They had evidently taken the Scriptures as their only and all-suffieient guide, and the religious knowledge they had already acquired, clearly evinced that they had had the Holy Spirit for their teacher. The great doctrine of justification by grace, through faith alone, was apprehended by them with great clearness, and formed the only foundation of their hopes. It is impossible to describe the cordiality of manner and the gladness of heart with which they greeted a missionary of the cross for the first time. They seemed to hang upon my lips, like men who were hungering for the bread of life. They said to me, "We endeavor to take the Word of God for our guide, but we are sensible that in many things we are wanting. We desire you to talk

with us, and see wherein we are deficient, and instruct us in the right ways of the Lord."

These individuals, in general, compared with their countrymen in the same place, might justly be called intelligent men. They were employed in various branches of business, all of them respectable, and some of them in very easy circumstances. One of them appeared to be over fifty years of age, and was very sober and venerable in his appearance, and quite intelligent. The two priests, Der Vertanes, and Der Harûtun, by name, removed, of their own accord, to Constantinople; and by a singular providence, they were then placed together, as the only priests in a village church on the Bosphorus. Here they could act with a good degree of independence, and many opportunities of doing good were presented. During the summer of 1838, the Patriarch Stepan, being an old acquaintance, spent several weeks with them; and they had very full conversations together on religious subjects, the Patriarch generally assenting to their views.

Both at Brûsa and Trebizond every possible obstacle was thrown in the way of the progress of the truth; and yet the Word of God could not be bound. In both places there was increasing friendliness on the part of the people, and more extended intercourse, and, what is still better, the special presence of the Holy Spirit was manifest. Among those whose minds seemed to be especially opened to religious impressions at Trebizond, were the vartabed himself, or acting bishop, who has been alluded to, and also a priest of the Church. At Brûsa, the two teachers, Mr. Seropè, and Mr. Hohannes, seemed to be growing in grace and in the knowledge of Christ. An

influential and distinguished man became a serious inquirer for the way of salvation, and opposition, thus far, was overruled for good. In October, 1838, Mr. Schneider began a regular preaching service at his own house, every Sabbath, in the Turkish language, for the benefit of both Armenians and Greeks.

The Rev. E. Riggs joined the station at Smyrna, with his family, on the 2d of November, 1838.

CHAPTER IV.

Origin and Nature of Armenian Patriarchal Power—Power of the Primates—The Sultan Mahmûd enlisted as a Persecutor—Missionaries and native helpers calumniated—New Patriarch—Organized Persecution—The Armenian Patriarchal Power always persecuting—Two Brethren exiled—Interesting Scene at Nicomedia—Cruelties of a Turkish Policeman—Reception at Kaisery—Fears at the Capital—Books prohibited—Banishment of a Pious Priest—Reign of Terror—Patriarch's Bull—Combination of Persecutors—Wonderful Providences—Death of Mahmûd II.—Persecutors Relenting—Sultan's Physician—Persecution at Brûsa—Do. at Trebizond—New Station at Erzrûm—Arrival of Mr. Hamlin.

The enemies of the reform were ever watchful for opportunities to carry into effect their hostile purposes. They had been baffled by that providential interposition which brought the High School at Has Keuy into existence; but, though they were disappointed, they were not discouraged. And when that school was closed, and its principal was once more placed within their grasp, they resolved to lose no time in seizing upon their prey. It must be regarded as a circumstance strongly favoring the reformation among the Armenians, that there exists in that community, no great concentration of power, as in the Church of Rome. The real visible head of the Armenian Church, is the Katolikos, (called by foreign nations

Patriarch), at Echmiadzin. But, as Echmiadzin has been, for many years, within the Russian territories, the Armenians of Turkey, partly through fear, but more, it is believed, from choice, have not acknowledged their allegiance to him. The Patriarch of Constantinople is, ecclesiastically considered, only a common bishop, having properly no spiritual authority above that of any other bishop in the land. The office of Patriarch was instituted by the Turkish government, for its own purposes, and is, therefore, civil and not ecclesiastical. When Mohammed II. took possession of the city of Constantinople, he found there a Greek Patriarch, having spiritual jurisdiction over the whole Greek Church; and sagaciously conceiving that the Greeks could be better governed through their own ecclesiastical head, than directly by their conquerors, he made the Patriarch responsible for the good conduct of his people, clothing him at the same with such civil powers as were necessary to enable him to maintain his authority. And this, no doubt, suggested the thought of governing each of the other great classes of inhabitants in a similar way. There being, however, no Armenian Patriarch in Constantinople, Mohammed removed the Bishop of Brûsa thither, A.D., 1453, and constituted him Patriarch of all the Armenians in Turkey, with civil powers corresponding to those which had already been conferred on the Greek dignitary. The Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which has a very limited jurisdiction, dates back to A.D., 1311, and owed its existence to the Sûltan of Egypt. The nomination to the office of Patriarch is made by the primates of the nation, but the appointment comes from the Sûltan. His powers are defined by an imperial *firman*, and he ranks, civilly, with

the great pashas of the empire. He has a prison within his own precincts, for the punishment of offenders, and until within a few years past, a note from him to the Porte, was quite sufficient, in most cases, to procure the banishment of any individual, whether an ecclesiastic or a layman, mere word of the Patriarch being taken as sufficient to establish the guilt of the accused. And if, owing to the rank or influence of the individual, or any other circumstances, any difficulty was apprehended in procuring the necessary order from the government, a bribe would generally settle all doubt on the subject. In this way, it will be seen, the Patriarch could, with the greatest ease, use the power of the Turkish government to vent a private pique upon an individual, or visit a suspected heretic with persecution. And numerous instances are on record, in which this power has been exercised with the greatest injustice and cruelty.

But, in actual practice, the power of the Patriarchs is very much modified by the power of the primates of the community, who are chiefly bankers. As the Patriarchs are, in an important sense, the creatures of the primates, rarely is any important step taken without the sanction of the latter. And since there are always rival candidates for the Patriarchal office, each candidate being supported by his own friends among the primates, it is obvious that concealed action on any point must be difficult, and a strong and permanent centralization of power like that of Rome, is not at all practicable. For the most part, the Patriarchs have been the tools of those, who, for the time being, have had the greatest influence in the community; and those who have the predominant influence are those, who are brought into the closest contact with the impe-

rial government. Of course, as parties fluctuate, or other circumstances change, this power is transferred from one combination of men to another, and thus measures in process, or in prospect, are constantly liable to be interfered with and frustrated. Much of the quiet that has been enjoyed by the missionaries, and their native brethren in the prosecution of their evangelical labors, has been owing to jealousies and party feuds among the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Armenian community.

In the case before us, by a series of intrigues, commenced near the beginning of the year 1839, the leading bankers were gradually dispossessed of much of their former power; and almost before either the Patriarch or the people were aware of it, three or four men from the artisan classes, stood before the nation as its guides and dictators, and especially as defenders of its ancient faith, and the zealous extirpators of heresy. One of these was the Sultan's chief architect, and another was his second. Another was superintendent of the government powder works. The first two were employed at the time, in erecting the most splendid of all the imperial palaces; and this brought them into closer contact with the Sultan than was enjoyed by any of the bankers. Their royal master was also so much delighted with the work of their hands, that he seemed ready, for the moment, to grant them any request they might make, even to "the one half of his kingdom." The expulsion of Protestantism from the land was an object that lay near their hearts; and they now resolved to make use of the strong arm of the Sultan to effect it. Accusations were presented against the evangelical brethren, though the precise form of them is not known. Report said that the Protestants were repre-

sented as being rebellious against the government of the Patriarch, and of course against that of the Sultan himself. Under the ecclesiastico-civil government of the Patriarchs, the one necessarily implied the other. It was said also that alarming inuendoes were thrown out, respecting the political bearings of Protestantism in Turkey, and the dangers that threatened the throne itself from an English party, as it was called, being permitted to take root and grow in the country. At the same time, a book in the Turkish language, containing an attack on Mohammedanism, was sent to the palace by some evil-minded person, and the American missionaries were represented as being its authors; and this was produced as sufficient proof that they, and the Armenians connected with them, had the design of attempting to convert the Mohammedans to Protestantism; although, in point of fact, the mission had never printed a book of any sort in the Turkish character, nor one in any language on Mohammedanism. Various other reports were in circulation, some of which were as ridiculous as they were slanderous; such as that the teachers of the mission schools taught chemistry, which was Protestantism, or at least something that would transform all the pupils into Protestants; that Mr. Sahakian was a sorcerer, and would cut a round piece of paper and it would become gold, and that one such piece was given to every Armenian that became a Protestant, and being kept in his pocket he could use from it as long as he lived, and as freely as he liked, and yet it would never be consumed; that by fixing his eyes upon a man he obtained complete mastery over him, in every respect, and no one had power to break the charm, even though absent from his enchanter; and that the missionaries took a likeness

of every one that went over to them, and hung it up in one of their rooms; and if, at any subsequent period, any one of these should apostatize, the missionary would send a ball through his picture with a pistol, and after that the man would soon die.

Such reports as these, which had produced among the common people a very excited state of feeling against the evangelical brethren, would also have their influence in the palace. The Sultan was easily persuaded, and the architects and powder-maker were fully authorized to call upon the civil power, to aid them in extirpating this dangerous heresy.

But, there was one obstacle which must be got out of the way. The reigning Patriarch, Stepan, was altogether too mild a man for their purposes; and, moreover, it was reported and believed that his sympathies were with the evangelical party. For some unknown reason, they did not at once remove him from office, but procured from the interior of the country, a man who had once been Vicar of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and who was notorious for his bigotry and sternness of character, to be associated with Stepan, as assistant Patriarch. Hagopos, for that was the name of the new-comer, soon had the whole power virtually put into his hands, and Stepan, the real Patriarch, sunk to a mere cypher. And now began the cruel work of persecution in good earnest. On the 19th of February, Mr. Sahakian was arrested, and thrown into the Patriarch's prison. There was not even the form of an examination, nor did they condescend to inform the prisoner what were the charges alleged against him. Everybody knew, however, and he knew, without being told, that his only crime was, that

he chose to follow the Bible, rather than the Church. He was a mild, amiable, inoffensive man; of unblemished character, and against whom, as a subject and a citizen, not the slightest imputation could be brought. And yet, while the same so called Christian Patriarchate would use all possible means to protect felons of every description, who belonged to the Armenian community, even to the murderer himself, from the regular action of the Turkish law, it could rudely seize an innocent man, and deliver him over to the civil authorities, to be punished for daring to think and act for himself, in matters pertaining only to his own soul and God!

The Armenian Patriarchal power at Constantinople has always been a persecuting power, but more especially within the last one hundred and fifty years. In the year 1700, the Patriarch Ephraim, issued the most stringent orders to all his clergy, throughout the empire, to cause to be seized and imprisoned, all whom they even suspected of being favorably inclined to the decisions of the Council of Calcedon, which implied that they were also favorable to Rome; and, by the influence of his money, he procured a similar order from the Sultan himself to all the civil authorities of the land. Hundreds were imprisoned and fined, and many were cruelly tortured by the Janissaries, merely for their religious opinions. The same thing was repeated by Avedis, A.D. 1705, and Sahag, A.D. 1708, and Hohannes, A.D. 1714, and many of their successors. In some of these persecutions, there was much blood shed, the money of the Patriarch causing many to perish at the hands of the public executioner. And who does not know of the cruelty practiced upon the Papal Armenians, so lately as the year 1828, when about

10,000 of them were stripped of their property, driven from their homes, and sentenced to perpetual banishment, at the instigation of Garabed, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, merely because of their adherence to the Church of Rome! In the present instance, therefore, the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church were only acting out the true spirit of the Establishment. Everybody expected it, sooner or later; and many wondered that the blow had been so long delayed. On the same day with Mr. Sahakian's imprisonment, another teacher, Mr. Boghos Fizika, was also arrested and put into the same prison. Four days afterwards, these two individuals were put under charge of a Turkish police officer, who was armed with pistols and sword, and, without the least show of trial, or expressed accusation, they were sent into banishment by an imperial firman. The place of their exile was a monastery near Kaisery, (the ancient Cæsarea ad Argœum), about 400 miles east of Constantinople. The Patriarch Stepan took leave of them with tears. He did not participate in the act of his compeers, and knew well its deep injustice. The police officer, a Turk, stopped at his mother's house in Scûtary, and sent back word that Mr. Fizika was too feeble to bear the fatigues of the journey. He was an invalid, and the whole distance must be performed on horseback, over a rugged country, with almost no comforts on the road, and this at the very worst season of the year. The heart of a persecutor, however, is cruel and relentless. The most positive orders were returned to carry him to Kaisery, either alive or dead. The mother of the policeman, who was a Turkish woman, wept at their hard treatment, and remarked that "the Arme-

nian rulers must be very bad people to exile such good men."

Nicomedia lay on their way; and as soon as their arrival there was known, the pious brethren hastened in a body to the post house, and there they had a precious season of prayer, which gave great comfort to the exiles. Here the chief primate of the Armenians, being solemnly appealed to by Mr. Fizika, detained the guard, at his own risk and expense, for a few days, and wrote to Constantinople for permission for Mr. F. to remain in Nicomedia, on account of his feebleness. They were lodged in the precincts of the church, where the evangelical brethren had free access to them, and every evening was spent in Christian intercourse and worship. The health of the invalid here rapidly recruited, however, so that they started on their way before an answer was received from Constantinople, which at this time was a favorable one, owing to the influence of the Nicomedian primate. The policeman, seeing in Nicomedia, that his prisoners were not destitute of friends, after they had got well on their way, resorted to the usual tricks of his trade, in order to extort money. This was done by practising cruelties upon them, on pretense that he was commanded so to do, but really to make them pay well for exemption. He tied the feet of Mr. Sahakian together under his horse, as he was riding along, and then suspended from them a heavy stone, producing, in a short time, the most exquisite suffering. To save himself from this cruelty Mr. S. was compelled to draw upon his father for two thousand piastres (nearly $100) as a present to the policeman. The Armenian bishop of Angora, being an old friend of the family, cashed the bill; and thus our brother was released from his tor-

ture. Opportunities were not wanting on the way, to preach the Gospel of Christ; and on the arrival of the exiles at Kaisery, many of the Armenians were very curious to know for what crime they had been banished. And when Mr. S. informed them that it was merely because they received the Bible as the only infallible guide in religious matters, they replied that the Patriarch might as well banish them all, for they were all of the same opinion.

The greatest efforts were now made at the capital to frighten the brethren into submission. It was reported that the Patriarch had a list of five hundred persons suspected of heresy, among whom were bishops, priests, and bankers; and that several were to be banished immediately. The names even were given of different individuals, of whom the Patriarch's beadles were already said to be in pursuit. Very few dared to visit the missionaries, and those only under cover of the darkness. On the 3d of March a Patriarchal bull was issued by Hagopos, adjunct Patriarch, forbidding the reading of all books printed or circulated by the missionaries; and all who had such books in their possession, were required to deliver them, without delay, to their bishop or confessor. The brethren, though appalled by such violent proceedings, still exhibited great constancy; and seemed ready to suffer joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and if need be, imprisonment, banishment, and the bastinado, for their Master's sake.

On the 14th of March, Der Kevork, the pious priest of Has Keuy, was arrested and thrown into prison. Eight days after, the Patriarch Stepan was deposed from office, and permitted to retire to his convent at Armash near

Nicomedia; and on the following day, his assistant Hagopos, was installed in his place. During the same week, the Greek Patriarch issued a bull, excommunicating all who should buy, sell, or read the books of the Lutherans or Calvinists, as the missionaries were called; and an imperial firman was also published, requiring all the Patriarchs to look well to their flocks, and guard them against foreign influence and infidelity. In short, the reign of terror had begun, and no means were to be left untried to extirpate Protestantism from the land. It was now quite evident that the Sultan himself was an interested party in these transactions. The answer given to an application from the most respectable Armenians of Has Keuy, for the release of Der Kevork, showed the spirit of the times. They were told to "stay at home, and mind their own business." After lying in prison for more than a month, he was banished into the interior; and two vartabeds, who had presided over dioceses as bishops, one more teacher, and several other persons were sent into exile about the same time. As there was no examination of any case, some, who were made the victims of this cruel fanaticism, had never in any way been associated with the evangelical men, but were made to participate in their punishment by a mere mistake. It was supposed that in one or two instances, individuals who acted with the persecuting party, seeing the summary manner in which every one, to whom even a suspicion of heresy was attached, was punished, took advantage of the times, and to gratify a long-cherished purpose of revenge, procured the punishment of personal enemies, who were the farthest possible removed from Protestantism.

On the 28th of April, the Patriarch issued a new bull,

more violent than the former, threatening terrible anathemas, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, against all who should be found having any intercourse with the missionaries, or reading their books; and also against all who neglected to inform, when made acquainted with offenders. Within two or three days, a rich banker, who had been for years on friendly terms with the missionaries, and who was especially the patron of Mr Boghos Fizika, was arrested and imprisoned in the hospital, as an insane person: this is a method of persecution not unfrequently resorted to in this country. The banker was released after about a week's confinement, on paying a large sum towards the college at Scûtary, to atone for the mischief he had done by his insanity!

The list of suspected persons had now swelled to a very large number; and a strong effort was being made to procure the expulsion of the missionaries, themselves, from the country. Multitudes of persons of diverse characters, were active, from diverse motives, in keeping alive the spirit of fanaticism. One was a renegade Jew, who had been baptized by an English missionary many years before, and had, for some years afterwards, been on terms of some intimacy with different missionaries; but who was now an avowed infidel. He seemed to be aided by the Evil One, in inventing all sorts of slanders against Protestants and Protestantism; and with these he powerfully stimulated the persecution. Another was an infidel teacher, whom we had once disappointed in the hope of employment, and who never afterwards forgave us. He was a man of great rudeness of manner, and bitterness of spirit, and became a fit associate for the apostate Jew. Numerous were the subalterns who were found ready to act

under these leaders. It was a day of rebuke and blasphemy. The enemies of the truth seemed to have everything in their own way; and strong was their confidence that they were about to succeed in their purpose of delivering the land from the plague of Protestantism. The words of the prophet (Isa. lix. 14, 15) contain a most accurate and graphic description of the actual state of things in Constantinople at this time. "Judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off: for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter. Yea, truth faileth; and *he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey.*"

Our native brethren were at their wits' end, and even the missionaries could not see how God was going to deliver his people. Providence solved the problem, however, with the greatest imaginable ease. The persecuting powers were suddenly thrown into the deepest consternation, by a demand from the Sultan to all the Patriarchs, that each should furnish him with several thousand men, to recruit his broken army, and enable him to prosecute his war with Mohammed Ali of Egypt. Though an unprecedented demand, it must be promptly obeyed. Public attention was now entirely absorbed in this subject, and the doomed Protestants were for the moment forgotten. The army was raised, and marched to the field. It was estimated to consist of 80,000 men; and on the plains of Nezib, near Aleppo, it encountered an Egyptian force of about the same number. The battle was fought on the 24th of June, 1839, and the Turkish troops were utterly defeated, and scattered in all directions. Tidings of this disaster, however, never reached the ears of Sultan Mahmûd. He died in his own palace, on the Bosphorus,

on the first day of July. His son, Abdûl Medjid, was girded with the imperial sword, on the 11th; and a few days after, the news reached the capital, that the Capudan Pasha had treacherously surrendered up the whole Turkish fleet to Mohammed Ali. Thus, both the army and navy were gone, and a mere boy of seventeen was upon the throne, in the place of the great Mahmûd; and the entire dissolution of the empire seemed inevitable. Nothing but the intervention of the great powers of Europe prevented this catastrophe.

By this rapid succession of remarkable events, God rebuked the persecutors of his people, and effectually removed from them the power of carrying into effect their unholy designs. Judgment succeeded judgment, producing, at least, in some instances, relentings of heart towards the innocent victims of ecclesiastical wrath. A fire broke out in the quarter of Pera, which consumed between three and four thousand houses. An immense amount of property was destroyed, besides several lives. Immediately after this last visitation, or about the middle of August, a meeting of the Armenian Synod was called, to take into consideration the case of the exiles. After much violent debating, it was resolved that a part of them should be recalled. Mr. Sahakian was to be left, however, in perpetual banishment. He was considered the "ringleader" of the sect called "Evangelicals," and his return to the capital would be highly dangerous. All the others returned to their homes before winter set in. Some of them were restored to their former stations. One effect of the treatment they had received, was, that they were rendered much more bold to preach the Gospel. The converted brethren, generally, soon took courage.

They cautiously resumed their intercourse with the missionaries, and gradually became bolder than ever in their efforts to spread the knowledge of the truth.

In the meantime, at the suggestion of others, Mr. Sahakian wrote two or three letters, successively, to the Patriarch, petitioning for his own release. They were couched in terms of great respect, but as they contained no confession of error, and no promise of future submission, his request was denied. The bishop of Kaisery also wrote to the Patriarch in his behalf, saying that he had watched Mr. S. very closely, and had "found no fault in him;" but this application also failed.

Very providentially, one of the physicians of the royal palace at this time, was an English gentleman, of the most humane feelings; and he interested himself in attempting to procure the release of the injured man. He stated the iniquitous circumstances of the case to one of the sisters of the late Sultan, and through her, on November 14th, 1839, an imperial *request*, for the restoration of the exile, was sent to the Patriarch. This dignitary now had recourse to every expedient to procure the reversal of the decree. He caused all the foolish stories that had been circulated about Mr. S. being a magician, and a dangerous man in the community, to be repeated in the ears of the Sultana. And when he was satisfied that all this was without avail, he labored as much as possible to delay the execution of her benevolent wishes. He consented to restore the exile, but he must first procure from him pledges in regard to his future conduct. And when, after all, he was obliged to go through the usual form of asking from the Porte an order for the release of Mr. Sahakian, and the necessary document was placed in his hands, ad-

dressed to the Governor of Kaisery, by the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, he retained it for several weeks, in order to prolong the misery of his victim. On the 10th of Feb., 1840, the Patriarch, by compulsion, placed the imperial requisition for the return of our persecuted brother, into the hands of his father, by whom it was immediately forwarded to Kaisery.

The violent proceedings of those in power at Constantinople, that have been narrated, had their influence in every part of the empire where Armenian Protestants were found or feared. Indeed, steps were taken to make the persecution universal. The influence of the deposed Patriarch Stepan, was sufficient to keep the Armenian authorities in Nicomedia in check, although they were just ready to break out upon the evangelical brethren there when Stepan arrived. In Brûsa, near the beginning of the year, the bishop Matteos preached with great violence against the missionaries, threatening to visit with anathemas all who should have any intercourse with them. The books printed at our press were diligently collected, and some of them at least were burnt. Mr. Powers' Armenian assistant was compelled to leave his service; and the owner of his house was actually excommunicated, and threatened with banishment, because he would not eject the missionary. The bishop was making arrangements forcibly to remove Mr. Powers, when, through the American Consul, the consent of the governor of the city was obtained for him to remain. The mission struggled hard even for existence, and both the missionaries and the few native brethren found there, passed many days and nights of deep anxiety, and of alternate hope and fear; but the Lord at length brought deliver-

ance; and no one was really hurt. The two teachers who were hopefully pious, were not even removed from the school, although they were severely reprimanded, and held up to public scorn in the church by the bishop, for having had intercourse with the foreigners. After the storm had subsided, one of the missionaries wrote, "It is grateful to look out again, and behold the face of the clear sky, and find ourselves escaped from impending dangers, and our little bark, uninjured by the tempest, again heading before the wind."

There was satisfactory evidence, that, even in the midst of these troubles, the truth was making silent progress among the people. The more intelligent of them well knew the falsity of the charges brought against the missionaries, and it required no superior logical powers, to infer that the clergy were enemies of the light, and from purely selfish motives, wished to blind the minds of the common people, and keep them in ignorance. The conviction that a thorough reformation was needed, had already gained possession of many minds; and the persecuting measures of the ecclesiastics contributed, perhaps, more than anything else, to extend and deepen this impression.

In Trebizond, the first step of the ruling powers was to remove the vartabed, who was strongly suspected of leaning towards the side of the reformation, and not without reason, although he had never openly espoused that cause. His successor, who was sent from Constantinople, lost no time in proclaiming the orders of the Patriarch, forbidding intercourse with the missionaries, and requiring the people to surrender all books printed either in Smyrna or Calcutta, to his hands, that he might

forward them to head quarters. Those who had, in any way, rendered themselves suspicious, were greatly alarmed, and the orders were partially obeyed. Some, however, secreted their books; and one, who had obtained a copy of the New Testament two or three years before, but through indifference, had never read it, had his curiosity greatly excited to know what there was in a book which the priests were so anxious to get from him; and he immediately became a very earnest inquirer after the truth. It was becoming more and more evident, that superstition was gradually loosing its hold on the minds of several of the Armenians in Trebizond.

At the very time when the storm was raging at the capital, and at different points on the sea coast of the empire, the mission was pushing its advanced posts into the very heart of the enemy's country. In April, Mr. Jackson, from Trebizond, visited Erzrûm, almost in the center of ancient Armenia, in order to make arrangements for commencing operations in that town. While he was there, a letter was publicly read in the church from the Patriarch, warning the people against intercourse with the Americans, and against patronizing their schools and reading their books; and ordering them to seize such books, wherever they could be found, and commit them to the flames. This did not prevent Mr. Jackson from procuring a dwelling house, which he accomplished through the kind assistance of the British Consul, and on the 11th of September, 1839, he removed there with his family.

In February of the same year, the station at Constantinople was strengthened by the arrival of the Rev. C. Hamlin and wife, he being designated to open a seminary for Armenian boys.

CHAPTER V.

Interesting Season of Prayer—Persecution overruled for good—Judgment upon Persecutors—Charter of rights—Influence of Bankers curtailed—Greek Patriarch removed—Folly of the Armenian Patriarch—His resignation—Appointment of Stepan—Return from exile of Mr. Sahakian—Evangelical Priests—Salvation by Grace—An Evangelical Confessor—Inquirers multiplying—A Persecutor awakened—Opening of a room in the City proper—Removal of book depository—Public preaching—Seminary at Bebek—Charges against Mr. Hamlin—Visit to Nicomedia—Interesting character of the Converts—The Gospel carried to Adabazar—Effects of Ecclesiastical tyranny—Overruled for good—Reaction at Brûsa and Trebizond—Happy death—Printing at Smyrna—Providence removing difficulties—Testimony of an enemy—Change in the Armenian style of preaching—Deep feeling—Activity of Priest Vertanes—Progress at Nicomedia and Adabazar—Influence of a Tract—Mr. Schneider's visit—Public preaching—Book distribution—Imbecile efforts against the Bebek Seminary—God watching over his Church.

The first Monday in January, of the year 1840, was observed as a day of special fasting, humiliation, and prayer, throughout all the mission stations of the Board in Turkey. The events of the preceding year, and the existing state of things in the country, rendered it a season of deep interest. The subjects of prayer were many and important; such as the removal of obstacles to the spread of the Gospel; the opening of doors of access; the unbinding of the Word of God, so that it might have free

course and be glorified; the blessing of God upon the native brethren, enabling them to endure as good soldiers; and the general outpouring of the Holy Spirit, first on all missionaries and native brethren, and then on the Patriarchs, bishops, priests, and all the people, of whatever name or race. It was a precious day, and long to be remembered.

It became more and more evident that the persecuting power had received a check from which it would not immediately recover; and the persecutors, themselves, soon perceived, and in some instances acknowledged, that they had committed a great mistake. Their efforts to destroy the truth had only made it more extensively known in the land. Nor had the disregard to private rights shown by many of the clergy; their injustice, violence, and cruelty, tended at all to increase their popularity with the people at large. Said a highly respectable banker to one of the missionaries, "I have entirely done with our clergy. They are altogether a bad set of men, from the Patriarch down; and I am determined to have nothing more to do with them."

Some few of those who seemed to be truly converted, were so thoroughly intimidated by the violent proceedings of the ecclesiastical powers during the last year, as not to be easily emboldened to visit the missionaries for several months; nor even to give them a sign of recognition in the streets.

At the commencement of the year 1840, however, intercourse was resumed with most of those whom the persecution had temporarily repelled from us, and there was evidently no diminution of interest in religious inquiry. One striking providence after another occurred, calculated to

lead the hearts of the faithful to repose on God, and to be "nothing terrified by their adversaries." In several instances, signal judgments followed the persecutor, so that even the enemies themselves were constrained to acknowledge that God himself was uttering his reproving voice. The sudden manner in which the late Sultan was cut off, and his forces by land and sea destroyed, at the very time when he was aiding by his authority to vex the church, has already been noticed. The chief instrument in inducing him to use his mighty power for such a purpose, was, by the death of his royal master, deprived of all his peculiar influence; and shortly after, his wife was removed by death, and he himself brought down to the grave's mouth. Another powerful man, who had more than once, or twice, actively opposed and persecuted the evangelical brethren, within a short space of time lost two daughters by sudden death; a third daughter became deranged, and also a daughter-in-law; his wife was deformed by sickness, and also made nearly blind, and he himself became a miserable invalid.

But the most remarkable providence of all, though of a different kind, remains to be mentioned. Soon after the young Sultan came upon the throne, a charter of rights was granted to the people, without their asking for it, providing for some fundamental changes in the internal administration of the government. In the presence of all the foreign ambassadors, the sovereign solemnly pledged himself to guard, as far as in him lay, the liberty, property, and honor of every individual subject, without reference to his religious creed. No one was to be condemned, in any case, without an impartial trial, and no one was to suffer the penalty of death, without the sanc-

tion of the Sultan himself. No person conversant with Turkey would expect that such a change could be effected all at once; nor be surprised, if, for many years, so extraordinary a pledge should seem to be better known by its breach than by its observance. And superficial observers would represent the whole affair as a mere pretense, worthy only of ridicule. Under this very charter, however, changes the most momentous, particularly for the Christian and Jewish population, have already taken place in Turkey; and everything now indicates, that according to the honest intention and policy of the present government, there is ultimately to be a complete carrying out of its provisions, in every part of the empire. The important connection between the religious liberty at present enjoyed by the Protestants in Turkey, and this charter of rights, will be duly noticed in its proper place. The more immediate and direct bearing of the changes here alluded to, upon the Protestant cause, demands our present attention.

Under the old system, bankers were needed to furnish capital to the pashas, until they could procure their supplies from the oppressed people. An important part of the new system, however, was, that thenceforward the ruling pashas and governors throughout the country, should each receive a fixed salary from the government; and in no case meddle with the collection of taxes. Accordingly, near the beginning of the year 1840, all the bankers of the government received orders to settle up their accounts, as they were to be no longer needed in the capacity in which they had heretofore served the state. This threw many of them into great distress, and some it completely ruined. One was driven, in his des-

peration, to the crime of suicide. All who had capital remaining, were obliged to seek other methods of investing it; and their influence with the government, was, in a great measure, nullified. Thus did God put another obstacle out of the way, which hitherto had seriously obstructed the progress of his kingdom.

In this connection may be mentioned the removal from office of the Greek Patriarch. Although the spiritual head of another community, yet, both the fact of his degradation and the manner of it, had an important bearing on the progress of evangelical sentiment among the Armenians. His joining hands with the Armenian Patriarch, in anathematizing the people of God, has already been mentioned. In the spring of 1840, he was suddenly deposed from his office, by order of the Turkish government. He was found guilty of employing his official influence in fomenting rebellion in one of the Ionian Islands, which, it will be remembered, are under British rule; and his removal from office, it is said, was procured by the English Ambassador. Common report, however, among the Armenians, would have it, that his offense was, his public and oft-repeated defamations of Protestantism.

The occupant of the Armenian see did not much longer hold his place. He proved himself to be too overbearing and violent to be managed, even by those who took the pains to send for him to fill this place. God also gave him up to do the most foolish things, so as to bring disgrace upon himself, and the whole Armenian community. One of his own bishops, whom he had banished for some misdemeanor, returned, in spite of his superior, and went forthwith and joined himself to the Jesuits. Afterwards,

he came alone into the room where the Patr rch was sitting, and insulted him with the most opprobrious language, bidding him defiance to his very face. The poor Patriarch was utterly powerless. He could not even protect his own beadles from being flogged and imprisoned by the Turks. Before the summer was out, he was obliged to recommend as a teacher to a banker's family, one of the very persons whom he had lately banished as a heretic. At length he became so universally unpopular, and even odious, that in the early part of November, 1840, he was obliged to resign the insignia of his office, to avoid forcible deposition. It was not among the least significant of the signs of the times, that Stepan, the very man who had so recently been ejected for his mildness and forbearance towards the Protestants, and had even been suspected of Protestantism himself, was now again elected to the Patriarchal office, first by vote of the principal bankers, and afterwards by acclamation, in an immense popular assembly convened for the purpose. This prelate, after his return to office, remarked to a friend, in reference to those who had been banished for heresy, without even the form of trial—"If an examination were made as to the manner in which we treated these men, what should we say? What justice is there in such a mode of proceeding? Nicodemus asked the Jewish Council, 'Doth our law judge a man before it hath heard him?' But we have done this very thing. We have condemned and punished these men unheard."

On the 24th of May, 1840, our brother, Sahakian, the last of the exiles, returned to the capital. His presence there, under such circumstances, tended greatly to encourage and strengthen the native brethren; and he soon

commenced a series of active labors for the good of his countrymen. Priest Vertanes also, not being able conscientiously to perform all the duties required of him as priest, quietly and unostentatiously withdrew; and resolved to devote his whole time in laboring for the spread of the truth among his countrymen. He then abandoned, voluntarily, a situation in which he was honored and supported, for one in which he was exposed to constant suspicion, reproach, and persecution, and, at the same time, with very uncertain means of subsistence. Priest Kevork seemed to be "full of faith and the Holy Ghost," preaching more boldly than before his banishment, that there is but "one name given under heaven among men whereby we must be saved;" and ready to suffer again, if need be, for his beloved Lord and Master. The doctrinal views of the converted Armenians seemed, in general, wonderfully clear; which was the more surprising, considering the immense rubbish of superstition and error that originally encumbered their minds. The standard doctrine of the reformation in Europe—salvation by grace alone, without the deeds of the law, was usually the great central truth, first apprehended by their awakened and inquiring minds, and made the ground of satisfactory repose. Before it, the multifarious errors of the ritual and priestly system melted away as snow before the summer's sun; and around it, every other essential truth in the gospel scheme naturally clustered.

One of the enlightened priests who had not yet retired from the office of the priesthood, though his conscience was by no means quiet on the subject, resolved to be faithful to the souls of the people committed to his care, so long as he retained this relation to them. Before

Easter, according to custom, they came to him to confess their sins, to the number of nearly or quite five hundred. After he had heard what they had to say, he addressed them as follows:—"And now, my good people, I have no power to absolve you from sin. You must go to Christ for that; and until you have become reconciled to God, and feel that you have his forgiveness, you must not dare to come to the table of the Lord." Nor was he a respecter of persons. One of the richest and most influential bankers in Constantinople belonged to his church, and in fact, contributed most that was raised for the priest's support. Agreeably to his custom, this distinguished individual requested that the communion might be administered to him on a separate occasion, and in preparation for it, he went privately to the priest for confession. Our brother, nothing daunted, said to him, "This is a matter that lies between your own soul and God. I cannot give you absolution, but can only direct you where you can obtain it. You have sinned, and unless you truly repent, you must not come and partake of the Lord's supper. You must first go and be reconciled to God, and with repentance, and true faith in Jesus Christ, come to the Lord's table." The banker went away with a conscience so troubled that he could not make up his mind to partake of the sacrament, although he had probably never omitted it before at this season, since he came to years of discretion.

The number of inquirers steadily increased, and indeed nearly all who called upon the missionaries, came for the avowed purpose of religious conversation. The story had been very industriously circulated, especially during the persecution, that the Americans were a nation of infidels,

without even the form of religion ; and that the missionaries were aiming to convert all the Armenians to infidelity, and only pretended at first to believe the Bible, so as the more easily to draw the people into their snares. The words Framasón (Freemason), Lutràn (Lutheran), Voltér (Voltaire), and Protestàn (Protestant), were freely and indiscriminately applied to us, all of them being considered by the common people as synonymous, and the meaning being rather indefinite, but yet implying an atheist of the most wicked and dangerous description. To the emissaries of Rome in the East, undoubtedly, belongs the first paternity of this falsehood, and to their humble and sycophantic imitators among the clergy and laity of the Armenian Church must be yielded the honor of its second parentage. In more than one instance, our visitors showed at first no little anxiety to know exactly what was the truth of the matter ; and whether we have any churches in America, and whether any number of people ever assembled for worship on the Sabbath !

Among the inquirers at this time, was a young teacher who had taken an active part in the persecution, and especially in procuring the banishment of Mr. Sahakian. He had been a most confirmed Pharisee, fully determined to work his own way to heaven, by prayers and masses, confessions and penances. Providentially he was thrown for a few months within the parochial jurisdiction of one of the converted priests, and heard from him, for the first time in his life, the inability of the priest to absolve from sin, and of the sacraments to purify the soul. The priest brought him to us, and he soon learned that *the just shall live by faith*, and was enabled to repose on Christ alone as his atoning, his justifying, and his sanctifying Saviour ;

as *all and in all.* This was Mr. Apisoghom Khachadûrian, who became the first pastor of the first evangelical Armenian church formed in Turkey.

Early in the autumn of 1840, I adopted the rule of going over to the bazars and khans, in the city proper, every Thursday, for the purpose of seeking opportunities of addressing men on the salvation of their souls. Before the end of the year 1840, the expediency of providing a room, in the business quarter of the city, for receiving visitors, and for conference on religious subjects, became quite apparent; and one was procured and opened forthwith. Many were desirous of conversing with a missionary, who were closely occupied from morning till night, with business, and could not afford the time requisite to visit us at our dwelling houses, which were at least two miles distant. To all such, our room in the khan afforded every facility. It was open on two stated days of each week, and gradually became a place of much resort for religious inquiry.

About the same time our book depository was removed to the very heart of the city; and there, in the most public manner, the products of our press, so lately anathematized by the Patriarch, were daily sold by our agent, who was himself an Armenian. A highly respectable individual, who, a few months before, would not have dared to be seen even reading one of our publications, now came forward, of his own accord, and offered himself as our bookseller! More than three hundred dollars worth of books, in the different languages, were sold at Constantinople during the year 1840.

A weekly meeting in the Armenian language, commenced by the writer in the autumn of 1839, with only

three individuals, and that privately, for fear of the persecutors, gradually increased, as fear wore away, and before the end of 1840, it was held twice a week, publicly, and more than twenty-five different individuals had attended.

In the autumn of this last year, a boarding school, for Armenian boys and young men, was opened at Bebek, on the Bosphorus, under the superintendence of Mr. Hamlin. He had previously had several interesting day scholars, but this did not meet the growing wants of the community. The plan of a boarding school had repeatedly been urged upon us by persons of influence, and several scholars of a promising character had been offered. The school was opened on the 24th of November, 1840, with three pupils, and within about a week, applications had been made for fifteen boarding scholars, though our means, at first, would allow us to receive only twelve. An effort was soon made to crush the infant seminary, though it proved entirely futile, and was in itself not a little ludicrous. A deputation from the village of Bebek itself, consisting of the Armenian priest, two Greek priests, one of the village rulers, and several of the inhabitants, called upon the Armenian Patriarch, and expressed to him their deep regret that such a dangerous man as Mr. Hamlin should be allowed to reside in their quarter. They accused him of eating meat, eggs, butter, milk, &c., both in Lent, and also on Wednesdays and Fridays, the days of their weekly fast! He also taught his scholars that it is no more wicked to eat butter than oil; or meat than bread; or eggs than olives! Another grievous offense was, that neither Mr. H. nor his scholars made the sign of the cross; nor worshipped the Virgin

Mary, or the saints! Of course, they said, he must be a confirmed infidel, and he can teach nothing better in his school than the works of Voltaire!

The Patriarch was too well informed, and too well disposed, to be moved by such an application; and the petitioners had leave to withdraw.

During the month of June, 1840, Mr. Hamlin and myself visited Nicomedia. The brethren there were sorely threatened, during the reign of violence at the capital, but no serious persecution was actually attempted. Our intercourse with them, however, was generally private, in consequence of their still existing fears; but it was in the highest degree satisfactory. We were often reminded of the primitive days of the Church, when gardens and upper rooms were selected as places for prayer and conference, "for fear of the Jews." Our Nicomedia brethren had had little spiritual aid or comfort from abroad. They had been thrown upon their Bibles for religious teaching, and upon the Holy Spirit for their expounder of religious truth, and upon God as their only protector. Who then could wonder that they had grown rapidly in knowledge and grace? We met them all on the Sabbath, first in a retired garden, where we sat for four consecutive hours, in the midst of a small circle of hungry souls, expounding to them the Word of God, and preaching the Gospel of Christ; and after partaking of some refreshment, we sat in an adjacent house three hours more, talking to those who were present; and later in the day, we spent three hours in the same manner, in another garden, making, in all, about ten hours of preaching and conversation in the course of one Sabbath, besides about an hour more in our own room, with transient persons from abroad. And yet so intense

was the interest manifested throughout, by every individual present, that if bodily strength had held out, we could most gladly have talked ten hours more.

Many questions were asked, all of which were of a deeply practical nature. We took our departure from this city with mingled emotions of admiration, gratitude, and hope. Truly this is the work of God's Spirit, our hearts exclaimed, and it cannot be that it will now cease. The Lord is not wont to do after this manner.

While we were at Nicomedia, a stranger presented himself, one day, at our room, from a neighboring town. He was a merchant, and being in Nicomedia on business, he had the curiosity to call upon us. He said that the report of us had reached his place, through the Patriarch's letter, warning them against us and our books ; and that he, in common with many of his brethren, was very anxious to know what this new way is. After a considerable time had been spent in explaining to him our views, chiefly in answer to his own inquiries, we gave him a copy of the New Testament in the modern Armenian, and also several tracts, and he took his leave, expressing his high gratification with the interview, and his belief that the Armenians of his town would be convinced that Protestantism is not, after all, so bad a thing as has been represented to them. In this way was the knowledge of the Gospel first carried to Adabazar, the residence of this individual. It is situated about twenty-seven miles directly east of Nicomedia.

The mischievous nature and effects of ecclesiastical tyranny, as developed in Brûsa during the persecution, are graphically described by the missionaries. They say, " It

has closed our schools; it has gathered and consumed our books, not excepting even the Word of God; it has publicly and repeatedly denounced us as heretics and infidels, who are aiming to undermine the Christian faith; it has prohibited the people, on pain of anathema, prison, and banishment, to hold intercourse with us, to receive, or read our books, or to aid or favor us in any way. By its injunctions our doors have been watched, and all visitors have been reported to the priests; and repeated efforts have been made to expel us from our houses, and drive us out of the city. And the effects of these measures of violence have not lasted merely for a day, or a week. They have spread themselves over many months—even the greater part of a year." This is not the end of the story, however. The prohibition and burning of books, awakened a desire in many to procure and read these books for themselves: and reading, in many cases, resulted in the renunciation of cherished errors, and the reception of more correct views of religious truth. The denunciations uttered against the missionaries, stimulated some minds, at least, to investigate personally the characters of those who were thus publicly reproached. The sensitiveness of their spiritual guides in regard to the free circulation of the Word of God; their injustice, bitterness, and violence, did more in a few months towards convincing people of the iniquity of the system, and the need of a thorough reform, than years of argumentation from us could do.

There was a gradually increasing demand for books in Brûsa; and orders sometimes came from places thirty or forty miles distant, for the publications of the mission press. The preaching service in Turkish, which had been suspended, was resumed in October, and was attended by

from twenty to thirty hearers, and an uncommon solemnity and tenderness characterized the meetings. Just at the close of the year 1840 there appeared more evidence than ever before of the special presence of the Spirit of God, moving upon the hearts of those who attended upon the preaching of the missionaries. Before the end of January, 1841, two or three persons gave very pleasing evidence of a change of heart, and a number more were in a serious state of mind.

In Trebizond the reaction in favor of God's eternal truth, was not less marked and decisive, though, as yet, fewer persons were influenced. Some were willing to be known as obedient to the teachings of the Scriptures, rather than the teachings of the Church; and whatever doctrines or usages they found not based upon the Word of God, they unhesitatingly rejected. They were interested in the study of the Bible, and sought eagerly for the instructions of the missionary. Only one of these, so far, gave evidence of a real change of heart, and he was about fifty years of age. The Armenians employed as first teacher of the public school, a pious young man by the name of Eprem, from Constantinople, who went to Trebizond in order to escape persecution. His influence was exceedingly important. After continuing in that situation for eighteen months, however, a disease of the lungs compelled him to withdraw. He returned to his friends at the capital, and soon after rested from his labors, committing his soul to the Redeemer, in full confidence of a glorious immortality.

The station at Erzrûm encountered all the difficulties usually attending first efforts among an uneducated people. Besides an unusual degree of ignorance, bigotry, and

rudeness, there was a most appalling amount of intemperance prevailing among priests and people, including men, women, and even children. An Armenian assistant of Mr. Jackson was compelled to confess to a priest. It is usual in such cases for the confessor to prescribe some penance as a pre-requisite for absolution. A very common penance is to read over the whole book of Psalms, or to repeat the Lord's Prayer a certain number of times. In this instance the priest ordered the penitent, whom he considered a very great sinner, for not keeping the fasts, and especially for having gone to live with a Protestant missionary, to kneel twenty-four times every morning, for the twenty-four prophets, and twelve times every evening, for the twelve apostles, and to continue to do this for a whole month! Even in Erzrûm, however, there were signs of better days coming. During the latter part of the year 1840, there was an increasing demand for books, and particularly for the New Testament, and Mr. Jackson found the people far more accessible than before.

The Rev. H. J. Van Lennep was connected with the Smyrna station during April, 1840. The labors of the missionaries here were chiefly through the press, although preaching was not neglected. Very few Smyrna Armenians, however, seemed disposed to listen to the Gospel. Printing was done both in the Armenian and Greek languages for the whole mission, and far more was accomplished in this department during the year 1840 than in any former year. More than six millions of pages were printed in the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish languages alone. The most important work, by far, in the latter was the Pentateuch, translated under Mr. Goodell's supervision. Its publication was hailed with joy by mul-

titudes, and it only rendered them the more impatient to be supplied with the whole Old Testament in an intelligible language, which was in the process of translation. In the modern Armenian tongue, the book of Psalms was one of the publications issued, the writer of this narrative having superintended the translation.

It was considered a favorable omen that the Armenians themselves, of Smyrna, established a press, and commenced the publication of a newspaper.

Hitherto, in the Armenian mission, every contest with the enemies of reform had been a victory, and every change that had taken place had contributed to advance the work. This was the more remarkable, considering the peculiar advantages possessed by the ecclesiastical authorities in Turkey to oppose the introduction of light. The whole structure of the ecclesiastico-civil government of the Patriarchs, offered every facility for the suppression of heresy by measures of violence; and, at the same time, discouraged all hope of toleration in the country for native Protestants, as individuals; and the prospect of a community of Protestants sufficiently large to claim from the Turks a separate organization, was so distant as to appear to the most sanguine only as a dim and somewhat portentous shadow. The example of the Papal-Armenians was mournfully instructive on this subject. Still, two things were now fully evident. God was at work by his Spirit among the Armenians, removing the films of ignorance and superstition from the mental eye, and drawing many hearts over to the truth: and he was equally at work by his providence, defeating the plans of his enemies, defending his people from harm, and causing the very wrath of man to praise him. Here was an experi-

ment that had never yet been made in Turkey. Here was a problem that was neither for us or our native brethren, but for the great God himself to solve. Could his own spiritual kingdom be set up there, in spite of Patriarchs, and Synods, and all the mighty combinations of sacred and secular power that were arrayed against it? The missionaries and those who sent them forth believed that it could, or they would never have been found there; and God was teaching the most incredulous and faltering, that the cause was safe in his hands.

Some even of the persecutors themselves were sagacious enough to see, by this time, that they were contending against an invisible, and irresistible power. One of the leading primates, an intelligent man, but one who had taken an active part in the late persecution, was unexpectedly thrown in company with the writer. I spoke of the religious condition of the Armenians, compared with certain Protestant nations. He sat thoughtfully for awhile, and then remarked, "Protestantism is destined to spread until it becomes the universal religion." I then expatiated upon the anti-Christian spirit of persecution, when the primate denied having had any participation in the violent measures against the Protestants (a known falsehood); and remarked, "It would be a good thing if liberty were given here, as in some other countries, for every man to think as he likes in matters of religion." The work of persecution is so palpably unjust, so repulsive to every good feeling of the heart, so odious in itself that few, indeed, are willing to acknowledge participation in it. Even the ex-Patriarch himself, who was brought here because it was supposed he was exactly adapted to the work, remarked, just before leaving, "I

was opposed to the persecution, but a few of the leading men would have it, and therefore it was resorted to." Many of these very men alluded to, afterwards, made substantially the same declaration of their personal opposition to persecution.

The year 1841 opened with many indications that a thorough reformation was going forward in the Armenian community. A very marked difference was observed in the general style of preaching in the Armenian churches at the capital. The vartabeds had learned that church legends and "old wives' fables," would no longer satisfy their hearers. There was a growing desire to study the Scriptures, and a disposition to compare every doctrine and practice with the written word; and this could not, with safety, be disregarded. It was not an uncommon thing to hear of sermons on repentance, on the Sabbath, on the judgment day, &c., altogether based upon the Bible; and, in some instances, we were knowing to the fact that the preachers borrowed largely from our own publications for their materials. Indeed, we had repeated applications to furnish matter directly for sermons, for one of the most respectable vartabeds in Constantinople. Another of the vartabeds went so far even as to combat the prevailing error of substituting Mary, and the saints as mediators for Christ, declaring that the name of Christ is the only one given under heaven, among men, whereby we can be saved. These things were entirely new and strange; and indicative of a change in the feelings of the people, if not in the opinions and character of their teachers.

As the reformation advanced, instances of pungent conviction for sin, and a strong and deep apprehension of

spiritual things became more common than had before been noticed. One old man of sixty, perhaps, who had long attended our preaching, and who was quite infirm, one day said to me, "I have nearly finished my pilgrimage, I cannot remain here much longer." I replied that it matters little how soon we go, provided we are prepared. "Yes," he replied, bursting into tears, "but I am not prepared; *I feel* that I am not prepared." Another man of about forty-five was suddenly awakened and converted. Very few cases have I ever seen, where the truth took a stronger hold of a man's mind. He said, with emphasis, "I have been a great sinner, but I hope God has had mercy upon me, through the merits of Jesus Christ. I used to fear death, but now, thanks to God, this fear is removed; I feel that I am Christ's; and that when I die, I shall go to be with him." Another individual, who having been guilty of some flagrant sins, had fallen into a state of despair in regard to himself, was induced to come and hear our Armenian preaching. After having been present three times successively, he sought a private interview, and unburdened his almost bursting heart. Said he, "I was in despair, but now I begin to hope there may be mercy even for me. Tell me, what must I do to be saved." These are given as examples of what was rather frequently witnessed in those days. Some who were drunkards, gamblers, and adulterers, and some even who were downright infidels, became the subjects of an entire change, and, through the wonderful grace of God, they were washed and sanctified, and enabled to exhibit, in a high degree, that humility, purity, spirituality, and Christian zeal, which are the fruits of the Spirit alone. Many of those who were without, were constrained to

speak of the change as most wonderful, and to them, unaccountable. The converted brethren also, with scarcely an exception, appeared to be growing in grace, and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ; and their piety did not expend itself in closet meditation and secret prayer. An active zeal for the salvation of others was one of its most striking characteristics. The number of females interested in religious inquiry was slowly increasing, although from the customs of oriental society, neither the missionaries nor the native brethren could have free access to them.

Priest Vertanes was full of activity and hope. Almost every day he brought word of some new and interesting case of inquiry in some part of the city. His whole time was occupied in going from house to house, and from shop to shop, wherever he could with any propriety, or promise of usefulness, call. His great aim was to induce people to study the Bible for themselves, in order to ascertain the truth. He also brought many to the preaching of the missionaries, and to our houses for private conversation. It is a singular fact, that during the spring of 1841, a report came to Constantinople that a considerable number of Armenians in Nicomedia had become disaffected, and were about going over to the Jesuits, the Patriarch commissioned our colporteur, this same priest Vertanes, to go there with all speed, and endeavor to bring them back to their mother church. Thus fortified by a commission from the highest power, he had perfectly free access to every family in the Armenian community in that town. He was quite successful in the object of his mission, and while he heartily and faithfully obeyed the Patriarch, and endeavored

to persuade men not to suffer themselves to fall into the clutches of Rome; he also labored still more zealously to bring them to a sense of their sins against God, and to a hearty reception of Christ alone, as the Saviour of their souls. His visit was a great comfort to the brethren in Nicomedia, as well as an advantage to the cause at large.

One of the leading brethren in that town was chosen a counsellor of the Armenian community, and another was placed at the head of the school department. Under the direction of the latter, two pious men were appointed as teachers in the public school, consisting of two hundred scholars.

From Adabazar we continued to receive the most cheering intelligence. An attempt was made, in the spring of 1841, to raise a storm of persecution, and one of the brethren was actually thrown into prison. He was soon liberated, however, by a powerful friend, and afterwards the truth spread more rapidly than before. Regular meetings, for prayer and reading the Scriptures, were held every Sabbath, and from twenty-five to fifty were usually present. One of the priests seemed to have become obedient to the faith. What an illustration of the usefulness of the press! No missionary had been among these brethren, and almost the only instrumentality employed by the Holy Spirit, so far, was the publications of our press. A handbill tract, containing simply the ten commandments, in the modern tongue, without note or comment, was the means of opening many eyes. When they read, for the first time in their lives, in an intelligible language, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, &c.," they said to one another, "This is

entirely against our pictures. Do our priests know that God has given such a command?" Thus the Word of God proved "quick and powerful." One year previously there could not probably have been found a single soul, among the four thousand Armenian inhabitants of Adabazar, who was not groping in the deepest spiritual darkness. Now, some two scores or more were convinced of the errors of their Church, and ready to take the Bible as their only religious guide, and several appeared to be truly converted men, and were willing even to lay down their lives for Christ.

They had sent repeated invitations for a missionary to visit them, but the pressing nature of our work at Constantinople had hitherto prevented a compliance with the request. At length, in the autumn of 1841, Mr. Schneider, of Brûsa, was enabled to gratify them. His visit was hailed with joy, by all the evangelical brethren, and he returned with the most delightful and cheering impressions, from all that he had heard and saw, that what had been done was truly the work of God's Spirit. A spirit of inquiry was found to be extending itself through many of the neighboring villages.

During the year 1841, the public and formal preaching of the Word attracted increased attention at all the mission stations in Turkey, and was, in general, attended with the most happy results. At Smyrna, the number of hearers was very small, and yet some were solemnly impressed by the truth. At Trebizond, Mr. Johnson commenced a public religious service in November, 1840, and it gradually increased in numbers and interest through the following year. The bishop made some show of opposition. He summoned several of the regular attendants

before him, and charged them to go no more. This had no effect, however, unless it was to increase the number of hearers. More than thirty were present, at different times, and while all were interested in hearing the gospel, a few, at least, appeared to be made wise unto salvation. Among these was a young man belonging to the class of Papal Armenians. But the largest congregation in the interior was that at Brûsa, where Mr. Schneider was preaching to a "room full," during the summer months. Several individuals showed signs of personal anxiety, and two at least, were hopefully converted by the Spirit of God. It was known that a large number of Armenians had a desire to attend the preaching, but they could not overcome their fears of persecution. There were daily calls for books, and about 247 volumes were sold at an annual fair in Balikesr, near Brûsa, by Mr. Schneider's agent.

In Constantinople, a most singular state of things existed. The Patriarch was personally well-disposed towards the evangelical party, but still, by no means a decided friend, and easily influenced the bankers. His Vicar, or rather colleague, for such he became, though by no means bigoted, probably not much of a believer in anything, was time-serving and somewhat cunning. A pretty strong portion of the tradesmen were in favor of a change of Patriarch, and as a most ready means of accomplishing their object, they spread the story everywhere, that Stepan, the occupant of the see, was a Protestant, and was playing into the hands of the missionaries. As an evidence of this, they pointed triumphantly to our Seminary at Bebek, consisting altogether of Armenian boys, and yet their parents were not ordered to keep

them at home. It was necessary for the poor Patriarch to do something. The Vicar summoned before him, a priest and two laymen, who had children there, and privately told them to remove their boys ; but charged them not to speak about it in public. The priest obeyed, but after a few days, brought his boy back. The Vicar again ordered him to remove his child. He again obeyed, but soon returned him as before. This was repeated four or five times. At length the school was voluntarily suspended, for a few weeks, by Mr. Hamlin ; and then went on more prosperously than ever. The number of students was increased to twenty-four, and many applicants for admission were refused for want of funds. Some of the parents plainly told the Vicar that they could never remove their children, until as good a school was furnished by their own Church.

We had previously been advised by a particular friend of ours, who was also intimate with the Patriarch, not to enlarge our Seminary at present, and to be cautious in our other operations, as otherwise, the Patriarch might be compelled by his political opponents, who were charging him with favoring the Protestants, to break up the school. A terrible quarrel, however, soon broke out between the bankers and the tradesmen, in reference chiefly to the alleged mismanagement of the pecuniary affairs of the college at Scutary, which kept the whole community in a state of intense excitement and agitation for many months ; and, in the meantime, we and our native brethren were left to prosecute our labors unmolested. Thus did God watch over the interests of his infant church ; and sometimes by visiting his enemies with judgments, and sometimes by throwing

confusion into their counsels, and leading them to bite and devour one another, he carried his people on from strength to strength, and from conquering to conquer.

CHAPTER VI.

Rupture between the Bankers and Tradesmen—The Clergy despised by the People—Appointment of two Committees—Removal of the Patriarch—Appointment of Asdûadzadûr—His Character—Enlightened Vicar—Increase of the Church—Spirituality—Prayer—A Vartabed Convicted—An Ascetic Converted to Christ—Visits at the Khan—Hearers from the Interior—Monthly Concert of Prayer—First Native Mission—Care for the Jews—Female Inquirers—Co-laborers—Extensive Demand for Books—Mr. Goodell's Translation of the Old Testament completed—Love of the Bible—Book against Protestantism—Enemies of the Seminary made Friends—Mr. Wood's Arrival—Influence of the Seminary—Disaffected Brethren—New Inquirers at Brûsa—Arrival of Mr. Ladd—Hostile Bishop—Evangelical Influences at Trebizond—Inquiring Priest at Erzrûm—Arrival of Mr. Peabody—Violence of the Bishop—Enemies turned to Friends in Adabazar—New Impulse in Nicomedia—Religious Inquiry at Smyrna.

The rupture between the bankers and the tradesmen, alluded to at the close of the last chapter, had bearings so important as to deserve a more distinct notice. The original occasion of the quarrel has been stated. Its real cause is to be traced to the domineering and dictatorial spirit of some of the bankers, to whose officious irresponsible rule, the increasing intelligence of the tradesmen was teaching them no longer quietly to submit. The latter succeeded in procuring the appointment, by the people, of a committee of counsellors, consisting of twenty-four per-

sons, to whom, thereafter, every question of importance, pertaining to the business matters of the Armenian community, was to be referred. After a brief interval of repose, a list of charges, which had been made out by the united efforts of some of the bankers, and some of the clergy, was presented by the Patriarch to the Porte, against these twenty-four men. One of these charges was so grave as to require prompt action on the part of the Turks. It was nothing more nor less than that this popular committee had formed the plan of placing themselves and the people under the protection of Russia, and thus bidding defiance to the Turks! The whole twenty-four were immediately thrown into prison. As soon as the people heard of it, they rushed to the Sublime Porte, to the number of from four to six thousand, and called upon the Grand Vizir either to release their representatives, or imprison them all. This officer replied to them that their own bankers and Patriarch were their accusers. The people exclaimed, "We do not acknowledge the authority of our bankers or clergy; we are subjects of the Sultan." It soon became evident that the true policy of the government was to yield, and the prisoners were accordingly released. The people then demanded the immediate removal of the Patriarch. Upon this the bishops and vartabeds were all summoned to the Porte, and the tradesmen were called upon to select from among them the one they would prefer as Patriarch. The reply was, "We will have none of these men; they are all alike bad men; men who live by extorting money from the poor people. We want none of them. We will take time to consider the matter." The assembly was then dismissed, and the clergy went away in disgrace. As

they passed through the crowd, remarks like the following were heard from the lips of the people: "There go our oppressors!" Whoever goes with them goes to destruction!" "Let no man step his foot again in the Armenian Church, on the peril of his salvation, so long as these men are there!" "Behold the deceivers and robbers of the people!" For some days afterwards, the wickedness of the clergy was a subject of universal remark. Many said, "We thought that Stepan, our present Patriarch, was one of the best of them; and we called him a dove, but he has proved to be a raven. He has betrayed his people into the hands of the Mohammedans! If he is the best, what must the others be?"

This struggle continued for several months, each party alternately triumphing, and succumbing, until at last a peremptory order was issued by the Sultan, that the belligerents should forthwith make peace, and that a certain number of men should be regularly chosen, to be associated with the Patriarch in administering the affairs of the community. Subsequently it was arranged that two committees should be appointed, one for ecclesiastical, and the other for secular matters, and the Patriarch be the chairman of each; and this order of things still prevails.

The Patriarch, Stepan, was soon removed from office, and as the people and bankers could not agree upon any of the prominent candidates, they selected an obscure old bishop, by the name of Asdûadzadûr, who had always been an eccentric character, and was now in his dotage. This also was so overruled as to work mightily for the spread of the truth in the land. Such was the peculiar oddity and capriciousness of this man, that nobody wished

to go to the patriarchate for any purpose, except through dire necessity. Everybody seemed to feel that the less they had to do with their Patriarch the better. And when anything was said about the need of adopting rigorous measures to check the spread of Protestantism, the reply usually was, "What does that concern us? Let every man do as he likes."

The Vicar of the new Patriarch was one of those exiled for Protestantism, in the year 1839. He was formerly acting bishop at Trebizond, and there became pretty thoroughly enlightened as to the errors of his Church. His exaltation to the office of Patriarch's Vicar, was as unexpected to him as it was to us, and to the evangelical brethren generally; and that also was of God. Only a short time previous he had applied to the mission for employment in the book-making department.

The brethren were still exempt from persecution, though they did not rest from prayer and labor. They walked "in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost," and "were multiplied." It was a period of quiet and steady increase to the church. The wrath and strife of God's enemies had hitherto been constantly overruled so as to prove the most effectual means of spreading the kingdom and glory of Christ; now, the same blessed and glorious work went on with equal prosperity, through the blessing of God on the quiet though active labors of his servants, in a time of external repose. In the spring of 1842, one of the missionaries wrote as follows: "I think we have never before seen the time when the prospects of good among the Armenians were so flattering as at present. The truth is branching forth in all directions, and apparently taking deep root, so that

if all the missionaries should this moment be sent out of the country, still there would remain not only much seed sown, but also many firmly-rooted plants actually sprung up, and in different stages of maturity, from the blade to the ear, and the full corn in the ear." There was among the native brethren, a very perceptible and delightful increase of spirituality of mind, and, what was a particularly noticeable characteristic of the times, an extraordinary spirit of prayer. Prompted wholly by their own feelings, they often assembled in small circles to ask for God's blessing on the means of grace; and often, after sermon on the Sabbath, would several of them remain, in order to have a season of social prayer. If they found any individual in the congregation giving indications of special seriousness, they did not fail to stop, and converse and pray with him. Three pious young men were present one Sabbath at the religious services in the seminary at Bebek; and being left alone for a short time, Mr. Hamlin found that they had closed the doors, and were engaged in prayer. They afterwards remarked, that this was probably the only seminary for Armenians in the whole world, where such truths as they had that day heard, were taught from Sabbath to Sabbath, and that the hopes and expectations of all the evangelical brethren were strongly placed upon it, and that, consequently, they ought to offer unceasing prayer for the Spirit of God, to make the truth effectual. Mr. Hamlin remarked, in connection with this incident, "During the summer, I have had much intercourse with native brethren, and it seems to me that the spirit of grace and supplication has, indeed, been poured out upon them." This was farther manifest from the fact, that they rarely called at the house of a

missionary without proposing to have a season of prayer together before separating.

The usual burden of the prayers offered at this time was, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, even as on the day of Pentecost, and the salvation of their fellow countrymen; and they rarely failed to make special mention of the ecclesiastical rulers of their nation, and, particularly, of their enemies and persecutors.

From what has now been stated, the reader will not be surprised to learn that a greater amount of spiritual influences was enjoyed during the year 1842, than in any previous year since the establishment of the mission. The whole city of Constantinople was filled with rumors of what were called "the new doctrines," and they formed the topics of discussion in almost all assemblies of Armenians. The minds of some were wonderfully wrought upon by the Holy Spirit. The thoughtless and gay became sober and prayerful; the worldly became spiritually minded; the proud became meek and lowly; opposers and persecutors were disarmed, and a few were transformed into decided friends and helpers. The work was evidently of God.

A priest of venerable appearance called upon Mr. Hamlin, and was so deeply agitated in view of his own lost condition, and through fear of leading his people to destruction by seeming to uphold the errors of his Church, that, although it was a cold day, the perspiration stood in thick and heavy drops over his whole face.

A vartabed from the interior, came trembling, to some of our brethren, and begged to know what he must do to be saved. For the first time in his life he was sensible that he was a lost sinner, and although he had for years

been acting as spiritual guide to the Church, yet now that his eyes were opened by the Holy Spirit to see his true condition, he felt that he knew nothing of religion, and was willing to seek counsel and direction from even the most illiterate of the people, who had learned the gospel way of salvation. Nor did he seek in vain. The brethren to whom he applied, told him that there was only one way of salvation for priests and people. "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved," was the substance of the apostolic direction to inquiring sinners, and they could say neither more nor less to him. And by the grace of God, he was enabled to accept of Christ as his only and all-sufficient Saviour, and to consecrate the remnant of his days to his service. This was Bedros, vartabed, whose name will appear again in the course of this narrative.

A Papal Armenian, who, for years, had been wandering about the country in search of peace of mind, was induced to visit Mr. Hamlin about this time. His case was one of a class. There is no provision for securing peace to a really awakened conscience, in either the Roman or the Oriental Churches. The consequence is, that some individuals are always to be found, who wander to and fro, through the earth, seeking rest, and generally, alas! they find none; for they find not him who has promised, and who only is able to give rest. The individual in question made himself an inmate of a monastery, far in the interior of the country, and undertook the performance of the most menial services for the monks, hoping thereby to accumulate merit, and pacify, in some measure, the clamors of conscience. Failing in this, he penetrated into the depths of a wilderness, clothed himself in sack-

cloth, and lived on the coarsest fare, far away from the abodes of man, thinking in this way to get rid of the wicked world and his feverish and restless heart, both together. Here also he was disappointed. Up to this time he was a member of the Armenian Church. He now resolved that he would return to Constantinople, the place of his birth, and unite himself with the Papal Armenians, hoping in their communion to find "the bliss for which he sighed." He became chief singer in one of the churches near the capital, and was endeavoring to draw comfort from the strictest attention to the forms of Romish worship, when he was advised by a friend to visit the American missionaries. His soul recoiled at the thought. He had heard of us only as being heretics and enemies of the Christian faith, and he could not think of having any intercourse with such characters. He was at length persuaded, however, and ventured, hesitatingly, to accompany some friends to Mr. Hamlin's house. At first, he took his seat near the door, as if to keep as far as possible from pollution, and secure his retreat in case of need; and he listened in suspicious silence to the conversation of the others. Gradually he acquired courage to propose such questions as would involve controversy, and with great self-confidence, he assumed the advocacy of some of the worst errors of popery. But he soon received a check from which he could not recover. His mind was too honest and reverential not to feel and acknowledge a Bible argument, although hitherto he had paid but little attention to that book. From being a self-opinionated and dictatorial advocate of error, he soon became a silent and deeply attentive listener to the truth. He gradually changed his position, as his mind became more

and more interested, drawing his chair nearer and nearer to his newly-found teacher, until, at length, he seated himself on the floor, literally at the very feet of Mr. Hamlin, and with eyes intently fixed upon the speaker, and open mouth, he drank in, with mute astonishment, those truths of eternal import, which, though he had never before heard them in his life, he was now perfectly convinced were the only sure foundation of that peace of mind, which he had hitherto so fruitlessly sought. The change in this man's whole character was instantaneous, and to this day he is a living witness for the truth, and a faithful laborer in the kingdom of Jesus Christ. Several other of the Papal Armenians, who had not been considered very hopeful as a class, were awakened about the same time, and some appeared to be truly converted.

Mr. Homes and myself alternated in visiting our room in the city proper, which was opened twice a week, and became a place of great resort, as well as of intense interest. Some came with a list of difficult passages of Scripture to be explained; others, with a case of conscience to be solved; others, with inquiries in regard to the prevailing errors of the Eastern churches; others, with some infidel objection they had heard thrown out, but knew not how to answer; and others still, to hear truths that would make them wise unto salvation.

Our preaching services on the Sabbath gradually increased in numbers and in interest, and often individuals were present from distant places in the interior. Many who thus heard the gospel scheme of salvation, for the first time in their lives, were the instruments of conveying the joyful tidings to remote towns and villages in Armenia, where no preacher had ever penetrated. In

February of 1842, a week-day expository service in the Turkish language was commenced by Mr. Goodell, and also another on the Sabbath. The latter was held immediately after the preaching in Armenian, and was usually attended by the same audience. Some of the Armenians have entirely lost the use of their own language, and speak only the Turkish, while all are more or less familiar with this latter tongue. The monthly concert of prayer, for the conversion of the world, was a season of peculiar interest. From necessity, the time for holding it in the native languages, was fixed at near midday, on the first Monday of each month, and those who attended were obliged to leave their business, and walk nearly or quite two miles. Sometimes as many as thirty were present, all of them adult males, as no females at that time attended any of our meetings, and earnest and importunate were the prayers that were offered up for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the whole race of man.

The zeal of our Armenian Christian brethren, in endeavoring to enlighten and reclaim their own countrymen, whether far or near, was one of their most striking characteristics. Impelled by this, in the summer of 1842, several of them met in a retired spot among the hills that surround the capital, and after uniting in prayer for the guidance and blessing of the Holy Spirit, they resolved to send forth one of their number, at their own expense, on a missionary tour among the Armenians in the interior of Asia Minor. The individual selected for this service was priest Vertanes, who readily accepted the call, and soon proceeded on his way. It was a tour attended with many good results.

Nor, while caring for their own "brethren and kindred according to the flesh," did they forget the claims of other races around them, who were living in ignorance of the Gospel. With the Jews especially, they had almost daily conversation in reference to the one only Saviour, Jesus Christ; and this was the more remarkable, since there could scarcely be found among the other classes of people in Turkey, any other feeling than that of contempt for the outcast children of Abraham.

Among the most encouraging indications of the present time, was a very marked increase of interest in religious inquiry among the females. Hitherto the important element of female influence had been in a great measure wanting in the reformation. The cause of this was twofold; first, the extreme ignorance and consequent bigotry of the female portion of the population, there never having been the least provision for their education; and secondly, the difficulty of our getting access to them, and of their availing themselves, even when disposed, of the privileges of the Gospel, owing to the peculiar customs of society in the East, respecting the seclusion of women. The priests of the Church, from their official character as confessors, have free access to the females of the community; and they being always, of necessity, married men, no difficulty is felt in regard to it. Our pious priests were not backward in availing themselves of this privilege, and chiefly through their instrumentality, in the years 1842 and 1843, several of the Armenian females became deeply interested in religious concerns, and some few gave evidence of being truly converted. From that time they began to form a part of our regular visitors, and the way of access among them became more and more open. Some

few became regular attendants at the preaching service in the Seminary. About the same time I opened a week-day preaching service in Armenian, exclusively for females; and although few attended at first, yet it was evidently productive of some immediate good, besides being an important means of throwing open to Christian culture this important part of our missionary field.

Many persons of both sexes, were convinced of the truth of the evangelical doctrines, who from prudential considerations, had never visited any of the missionaries or attended their preaching; and some of these were actively though quietly laboring to spread the knowledge of the true and only way of salvation. Some of these had been awakened by the simple perusal of our books, and others through the instrumentality of our native brethren.

The distribution of the publications of our press became an important branch of labor, and quite sufficient to occupy the best part of one man's time. Mr. Homes was designated to this particular work, and he soon found that in connection with his other labors, he was fully and most usefully employed. There was a constantly increasing demand for books, so that by the spring of 1843, it was impossible to procure a supply from our press and bindery in Smyrna, with the limited funds we had, to meet seasonably all the orders that came in. More than twice as many of our publications were put in circulation in Constantinople in 1842, as had been sold during any previous year; and the amount of receipts for books sold was $550. Eight or ten booksellers at the capital were kept constantly supplied, and the products of our press were also sent to almost every part of the interior, even into Russia, Georgia, and Persia. An Armenian archbishop

near Odessa, on receiving some of these, expressed the greatest joy; and he remarked that they ought to be grateful towards those who were engaged in preparing such excellent books for their countrymen. All this was very remarkable in view of the fact that only three years before, the people were most stringently forbidden, by two Patriarchal bulls, under pain of anathema, to receive or read anything that emanated from the press of the American missionaries!

The evangelical brethren were very active in this department, and repeatedly was it noticed, that some who could illy afford it, purchased tracts and volumes to distribute gratuitously to those who would read them. One of the first bankers in the metropolis, on a certain occasion, having at his house for a few days, a primate of a town in the interior, induced his guest to take with him a quantity of our publications on his return home, for distribution among the people.

At Brûsa and Trebizond, the distribution of books was also more active than ever before; and many were sent by native agents into the interior of the country.

More than forty-four thousand volumes and tracts were issued from the Smyrna depôt to the different stations, during the year 1842, nineteen thousand of which were in the Armenian or the Armeno-Turkish languages, there being about forty different works.

The translation of the whole Old Testament into the Armeno-Turkish language, to which Mr. Goodell had devoted his undivided attention and strength for many years, was happily completed on the 6th of November, 1841, and was published at Smyrna, in the spring of 1842; and before the end of the following winter, the re-

vision of the New Testament in the same language was also finished by Mr. Goodell, and the translation published. It is impossible to estimate the value of this work to the reformation; and by its side may be placed an edition of the New Testament in the modern Armenian, published about the same time in Smyrna, as revised by Mr. Adger. The expense of the latter work was defrayed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, while that of the former came from the American Bible Society.

One of the most striking traits of the reformed Armenians was, their reverence and love of the Word of God. Some have been known to sit up all night to read and study the Bible, when it was first furnished to them in an intelligible language; and the prevailing desire of all seemed to be, to understand what God teaches through his Word, and to conform their belief and practice wholly to his teachings. An Armenian of great repute as a man, and who was regarded by the common people as an oracle in religious matters, though a self-conceited sophist, and an opposer of the evangelical system, said one day to one of our plain and honest brethren, "Why do you, who are ignorant, have so much to say about the Bible, when even the most wise and learned men in the world are not agreed about it, and are neither able to understand nor explain it?" "Ah!" replied the other, "this book is for just such an ignorant man as I am. It was never designed for those who desire to comprehend it by human wisdom, but it was designed expressly for me who am so ignorant. It is emphatically *my* book," said he, clasping it to his bosom, "and through the aid of the Holy Spirit, I, in my ignorance am enabled to un-

derstand it. But it was not intended for the worldly wise, such as you profess to be, depend upon it; and you, in your wisdom, can never comprehend it. Until you renounce your self-sufficiency, and feel that you are really ignorant, you will never be able rightly to understand the Word of God."

This same, so called, learned man, published this year a book against Protestantism, got up, it was said, under the direction, and at the expense of the Jesuits. This was the first work of the kind that appeared, though not the last, as will be seen. The Vicar of the Patriarch did not hesitate to condemn the policy of publishing such a book, even in the presence of many witnesses. Said he, "It cannot be denied that we have errors and superstitions in our Church, which we would gladly exclude, if it were not for the ignorance and prejudice of the common people. Now the effect of this book will naturally be, to bring a reply from the Protestant missionaries, and they will expose many of the deformities of our Church which had better be left alone."

Our seminary still survived all the shocks it received from the jealousy and hatred of its enemies. For several months the most vigorous efforts were made by bankers, priests, vartabeds, and bishops, especially those who were endeavoring to uphold the Scûtary College, to crush our institution; when lo! the Scûtary College was closed in spite of all their efforts, and ours still lived and flourished! Even some of its bitterest enemies were made "to be at peace with it." A man who, as Vicar of the Patriarch, showed the utmost hostility, on being removed from office, sent his own secretary as one of our scholars. The inhabitants of the village of Bebek, who, at first,

tried to destroy the seminary, became its warmest friends. Even the priest himself, who made such startling accusations to the Patriarch against Mr. Hamlin, when the latter first moved into Bebek, at length confessed that he had acted hastily on misinformation, and placed his own son at the school.

The Rev. G. W. Wood, who arrived at Constantinople with his wife, in the summer of 1842, was associated with Mr. Hamlin in the instruction of the seminary, the number of scholars being twenty-five, all of whom boarded in the establishment. Besides the incalculably important bearing of such an institution on the cause of evangelical religion in Turkey, it proved itself to be highly useful also as an object of attraction to visitors, drawing them within the sound of the gospel, and those too, often of a class that could not be induced to go to the private house of a missionary. The seminary, in this way, became, not merely an educational institution, but a center of evangelical influences, spreading themselves abroad far and wide in the land. The average number of visitors on week days was, at one time, six a day, and on Sabbath days twice that number, the latter coming generally to attend the service. These visitors were not merely from Constantinople, but also from many places in the interior, near and remote, who came to the capital on business. Sometimes there were as many as fifteen or twenty persons from without, present at the preaching on the Sabbath, several of whom were females.

Two of those who were numbered with the converted brethren, and with whom we had often taken sweet counsel, and concerning whom we had hoped better things, in the autumn of 1842 became disaffected, and

walked no more with us. Ever since the persecution in 1839, they had shown uncommon timidity, and it became more and more obvious that they were more anxious to find some powerful human protection as a security against persecution, and an encouragement openly and fearlessly to profess Christ before men, than they were ready to trust implicitly the naked promises of God. And thus forsaking God, he also forsook them, and, as a matter of course, they fell. We are not without our hope that they may yet rise again. The occasion of their disaffection must also be stated. It was a paragraph or two in the Missionary Herald respecting the probability and desirableness, under certain circumstances, of a separation of the evangelical brethren from the Armenian Church; and Mr. Southgate, (afterwards bishop) of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, first directed their attention to the article, and translated the paragraphs alluded to for them, neither of them being acquainted with the English language.

The preaching at Brûsa continued to attract attention, and as many as one hundred and thirty-five different individuals had attended it. A priest there was very much awakened in his mind, so that he came three or four times a week to converse with Mr. Serope, the pious teacher. Nor was he alone. Another priest was also in the habit of visiting Mr. S. occasionally on a similar errand; and two other exceedingly interesting inquirers became known to the mission about this time. One of them was by trade a picture-maker for the Church, and he soon resolved that he would relinquish this employment, which depended upon idolatry for its support, and procure his livelihood in some more honest way. The

other was a traveller, a native of Erivan, near Mount Ararat, and he carried with him, to that distant place, very different views of the truth, and the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, from those with which he came. There were also two or three priests in the villages adjacent to Brûsa, who seemed to be sincerely inquiring after the way of salvation. It was a circumstance of no small interest, that two young men of Brûsa were employed as teachers of village schools, supported by the people themselves; one of whom was hopefully pious, and the other very serious-minded, if not truly converted. They were exerting a decidedly Christian influence, both in their schools, and among the people around.

The Rev. D. Ladd and wife arrived in Brûsa in September, 1842, and thus Mr. Schneider was more at liberty to go on preaching excursions in the vicinity, which he did from time to time with very considerable encouragement.

A newly-appointed bishop arrived in this town, and soon began to show signs of opposition to the work of reform. He peremptorily ordered the two teachers to cease from all intercourse with the missionaries, saying, "They are infidels; they neither believe in the intercession of the saints, nor the perpetual virginity of the Holy Mother of God, nor in the real presence of the body and blood in the eucharist," &c., &c. He also forbade the people to read the publications from our press. All his opposition, however, being expended in words, little or no attention was paid to it.

The influence of the Trebizond station had been considerable, although, as yet a large number of conversions

could not be reported. Out of twenty-five or thirty who were frequent attendants at the preaching on the Sabbath, two gave the most satisfactory evidence of piety, and five or six more were in a very hopeful state of mind; while of all it could be said that they were interested hearers of the Word of God. It was a remarkable fact, that, in the local synod of the Armenian community in that town, consisting of six individuals, two were friendly to the mission; and so were all the priests except one. A priest from a neighboring village, who was teaching an important school, appeared to be quite enlightened, and was using his influence to disseminate the Word of God. Some individuals suffered under the persecution of their relatives, but the Lord frustrated all attempts to engage the civil power in the work. In the spring of 1843, the spirit of inquiry began more rapidly to spread. Five or six new persons were found searching the Scriptures most diligently, and they also commenced attending the preaching service. Opposition was, of course, stirred up afresh, and for a few Sabbaths, the brethren held their meetings in the fields, to avoid observation.

At Erzrûm also, some of the priests began to show a dissatisfaction with their religious system, and a desire for something better. One of these was quite disposed to do good to his people, and did not hesitate to exhort them to live according to the gospel. The Rev. J. Peabody, who arrived there with his wife during the summer of 1841, furnished some interesting notices of interviews with this individual. Others also among the people were more or less interested in religious inquiry. In the beginning of the year 1843, there were, at least, as many as twenty

individuals, who might be ranked with this class. A religious service, commenced by Mr. Jackson, in October, 1842, was now attended by a respectable number. This was something new for Erzrûm, which hitherto had seemed the most unpromising station connected with the mission to the Armenians. Success, however, as usual, stimulated opposition. The bishop was absent, but some of the primates began to talk in threatening language concerning the priest, as well as a teacher of their school, who was evangelical, and the young man who was employed by the mission as assistant. The bishop was warned by letter, of the spread of Protestantism, and this hastened his return. The Greeks and Papists contributed to increase the excitement. The bishop summoned the assistant of the mission before him, and peremptorily ordered him to leave the town within four days, which order, however, was not obeyed. Next, he publicly denounced the missionaries in the church, and forbade all intercourse with them. After a while, he sent for the poor priest, who had already been deprived of his priestly robes, that is, suspended from office; and, after grossly abusing him, ordered him to be bound in his presence, and bastinadoed. No one of his attendants being willing to perform this outrage upon a priest, the angry bishop proceeded to inflict the cruel chastisement with his own hands. The sufferer counted twenty-five blows, and then swooned away, and, of course, was unable to count any farther. In this situation, he was bound with a chain and thrown into prison, where he remained until morning; when, through the interposition of some of his friends, he was released. The next day he had the boldness to tell the bishop, in the presence of

several witnesses, that he should continue to read and teach the Gospel, notwithstanding the cruel treatment he had received.

His case was rendered the more painful, from the fact that this same bishop was once a serious inquirer after the truth, and even suffered persecution himself, as a Protestant. He was one of the exiles under Hagopos Patriarch, in 1839, and as the seeds of the truth had not taken deep root in his heart, that punishment easily accomplished the desired object. Ever since he was restored to power, he has shown a more inveterate hatred of Protestantism, and a more bitter and violent spirit of persecution than almost any other ecclesiastic in the country. Truly his last state is worse than the first.

The Providence of God wonderfully favored the brethren in Adabazar. In the spring of 1842, the vartabed gave them formal permission to meet every Sabbath day, in a private house, for prayer and reading the Scriptures; and there were usually from twenty-five to fifty present. Enemies they still had, however, who were always watchful for opportunities of thwarting and distressing them. A visit from the bishop of the diocese, in the spring of 1843, seemed to offer such an opportunity. This dignitary was the ex-patriarch Stepan. It was represented to him that a new sect had sprung up among them, which had embraced very strange and heretical notions, and was spreading its poison in all directions. He took down the names of the leading men of this so-called sect, whom he afterwards summoned before him, and asked them to give an account of themselves. They replied that they had not separated themselves from the Armenian Church, but that they received the Scriptures as

the only rule of faith and practice; that they tried to keep holy the Sabbath day; that they endeavored to refrain from lying, swearing, and blasphemy, and in all things to follow strictly the rules of Christ. The bishop, after questioning them still further, for his own satisfaction, decided that there was no fault in them at all, "as touching those things whereof they were accused." "What you are endeavoring to do," said he, "is very well. Would that all in our Church might do the same. Return to your homes, and continue to go on in the same good way." Another party of opposers came afterwards, with similar accusations against the Protestants; when the bishop asked, "What is the crime?" "Why," said the men, "they do nothing but read the New Testament and pray." "What!" said the bishop, read the New Testament! Is not that the only ground of our faith? Do we not all receive it? And have we any other rule? Happy would it be if all of you were like them in this respect."

In Nicomedia there had been a mournful want of progress for some months, but during the summer of 1842, a new impulse was given to the work. One of the evidences and fruits of this was found in a weekly prayer meeting, which had been attended by only six or eight individuals, but suddenly increased so as to number from forty to fifty. Many minds were in an inquiring state; and of course Satan's emissaries became very active. Some of the leading brethren were brought before the bishop (the same who went to Adabazar,) and accused of heresy. The bishop examined the case and made substantially the same decision as in the former place. On the next Sabbath, he told the people in public, that there

was no occasion for any suspicion in regard to these men. "I have examined into the matter," said he, and I find that they are merely in the habit of meeting together for the purpose of reading the Gospel and the Psalms, which is all very good, and all should do the same. I have also examined their books, and I find nothing bad in them. They are good. Wherefore you are henceforth to abstain from meddling with these men, and be at peace among yourselves."

One of the translators in Smyrna, who had not given evidence of piety, seemed to be especially serious, and three Armenians from Kaisery, who were transiently in that city, manifested the deepest interest in religious conversation. Thus the awakening influences of the Holy Spirit were also felt in Smyrna to some extent, as in almost every part of the Armenian field.

CHAPTER VII.

An Execution—Story of a Renegade—Insult to the British Legation—Pledge of Religious Liberty—The Hand of Providence—Extent of the Work of Reform—Trials for the Gopel—Spirit of Inquiry spreading—Visit of Drs. Anderson and Hawes—Abandonment of the Greek Mission—Religious Influence of the Seminary—Females awakened—Conversion of a Nun—Female Seminary opened—Patriarch removed, and Matteos appointed—Persecution of Priest Vertanes—Character of Matteos Patriarch—His Policy towards the Protestants—Persecution resolved upon—Business interfered with—Bedros Vartabed driven away—His Labors and Death—Priest Vertanes' Second Exile—Cruel Treatment of Mr. Tateos—Deliverance from Imprisonment—Assaults on the Seminary—Discussion and its Fruits—Public Debates—Cogency of Stoning—Papal Books—Picture of a Jesuit—Colporteurs--Popery counteracted—Censorship of the Press—Temperance Society—Happy Deaths—Death of Mrs. Van Lennep.

In the latter part of August, 1843, a small body of police guard was seen conducting with hurried steps through the streets of Constantinople, a young man in the European dress. His arms were pinioned behind him, and his face was pale and anxious. Arrived at a place of public concourse, in the midst of the business quarter of the city, they suddenly halted; the prisoner was made to kneel upon the pavement; an athletic Turk came forward, and with one blow of his yatagan severed the head from the body. The "superscription of

his accusation" stuck up near the spot,—for such is still the custom of the East,—specified that he was "taken in the dress of an apostate," and that his crime was "apostasy from the true faith," that is, Mohammedanism. A day or two after the execution, the shopkeepers in the neighborhood of the place where the headless trunk was lying,—three days being the customary period of exposure,—petitioned the chief of the police to have it removed on account of the stench. His reply was prophetic. "His body cannot offend any one, by its odor, earlier than three days; *but of this man's body the worst odor is yet to come.*" For many days afterwards, the event excited an unwonted interest among all classes of the community, and it was spoken of with trembling, and awe, and in emphatic whispers.

The history and bearings of the case are briefly these. The young man who suffered, was an obscure individual of the Armenian nation and religion. In an hour of temptation, while under the influence of alcohol, it was said he abjured the faith of his fathers, and declared himself a Mohammedan. He had not yet submitted to the rite of circumcision, however, before he repented of his rashness, and began to meditate how he could retrace his steps. The penalty of apostasy was death, and of course, he could not remain in his native city, and profess again the Christian religion. He fled to the neighboring kingdom of Greece, and after an absence of about a year, in his too great impatience to see once more his widowed mother, and his friends, he returned, though in the disguise oi a European dress. He was soon recognized by a former Turkish acquaintance, apprehended, imprisoned, and sentenced to decapitation. At this

juncture, the British Ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, impelled by motives of humanity, for which he has ever been justly distinguished, made an effort to procure his release. The grand vizir, after several days' delay, at length promised that the young man should not be beheaded. Whether he was insincere at the time, or found himself unable to persuade the imperial Divan to keep the pledge, is not known. Certain it is, that both he and his colleagues in power, were of the anti-reform party, and were endeavoring, as much as possible, to prevent innovations, and bring back the old order of things in Turkey. The young man was put to death, as we have seen; and, under the existing circumstances, that very act implied a public, and according to the ground taken by the ambassador, a double insult to the British legation. There was first, a deliberate violation of a solemn promise; and secondly, the execution of a man for embracing the Christian religion, was declared to be an insult to the established religion of England, as well as of all Europe. Sir Stratford now remonstrated in the strongest terms against such proceedings, on the part of the Turkish government, and insisted that no similar act of barbarism and fanaticism should ever be permitted again to occur. In this he was said to be warmly seconded, both by the French and Prussian ministers. The grand vizir, as before, was ready to give a pledge verbally, such as was demanded, but soon, a second and still more glaring act of treachery was discovered. A Greek, in the interior of Asia Minor, had declared himself a Mohammedan, and afterwards refused to perform the rites of that religion; and, at the very time when the Turkish minister was making fair promises on the sub-

ject to the ambassadors, he was preparing the death-warrant for the second renegade, who was immediately put to death! Such repeated and provoking faithlessness, on the part of the Turkish government, could no longer be patiently endured. Sir Stratford Canning now demanded, in very peremptory terms, that a written pledge should be given by the Sûltan himself, (as his ministers could no longer be trusted), that, hereafter, no person who had embraced the Mussulman religion, and afterwards returned to Christianity, should, on that account, be put to death. And he soon received the most explicit instructions from home, not to recede one step from the ground he had assumed. The French minister and government were equally decided; and, after some hesitancy, even Russia threw the weight of her influence into the same scale. The Turks yielded, through necessity, after battling the point for several weeks, and the pledge required was given, signed by the Sûltan himself, that henceforth, NO PERSON SHOULD BE PERSECUTED FOR HIS RELIGIOUS OPINIONS IN TURKEY. So plainly was the finger of God manifest in this whole transaction, that His Excellency Sir Stratford Canning, afterwards distinctly acknowledged that God alone had done it, and added, that to him, it seemed little less than a miracle.

No reference was made by any of the parties in this case, to the rights of God's people in Turkey, who had already long been struggling for the privilege of believing and worshiping according to the dictates of their own consciences. So far as appears, in the mind of the great governments of Europe, and their representatives at the Porte, as well as of the Turks themselves, the pledge, required and conceded, was intended to apply only to the

comparatively rare case of a so called Christian, embracing the Mohammedan faith, and then returning to his former religion. But God, in moving these mighty governments to take such a stand, at that particular time, and in crowning their humane endeavors with such signal success, had far higher ends to accomplish. He was setting up his own spiritual kingdom in the land, and for the full carrying out of his purposes, his people must have freedom to worship him in his own appointed way. But if the question for the protection of Protestantism in Turkey had come up directly, what hope was there that Russia and France would lend their influence to a favorable settlement of it? On what ground could England even have interfered, authoritatively, or by any such urgency of moral means, as would have been effectual with the Turks? But through the wonder-working Providence of God, the powers of all Europe were drawn into combination, to demand from the government of the Súltan, with strange unanimity and decision, a pledge, which though not so understood by themselves at the time, actually secured to the native Protestant Christians the full enjoyment of all their civil rights, while openly cherishing and practising their own religion. The battle for religious freedom in Turkey, was fought over the mutilated remains of that Armenian renegade. Before this comprehensive meaning of the pledge, however, could be fully understood, and an application of it actually made for the relief of the people of God, they were destined, as will be seen, to still more grievous sufferings for their faith, than any they had yet endured.

In May, 1843, the Rev. E. E. Bliss and wife arrived at Trebizond, from America. Their destination, at first, was

to Nestorian Mountains, but it was subsequently decided that they should remain permanently connected with the station at Trebizond, to labor among the Armenians.

The work of God continued to spread, in all directions, in the Turkish Empire. The number of those who gave evidence of a real change of heart, was, as yet, comparatively small; and so also was the number that came to listen to the stated preaching of the Gospel. The real extent of the work, however, must not be estimated from this. A considerable number of the Armenian people, both in the metropolis, and in the provinces, had been awakened to see the errors of their Church, and were fully convinced of the truth of the evangelical doctrines. There were, no doubt, several thousands of this class in Constantinople alone. Many of them no missionary had ever seen, but only the native brethren, and many others who had had frequent private intercourse with missionaries, were, nevertheless, unwilling to come to the public services. The causes of this were various. Some were so connected in business, that a public avowal of Protestantism would materially affect their worldly prospects. Others were unwilling to relinquish a post of worldly honor, which such an avowal would involve. Others could not make up their minds to endure the reproaches and persecutions of their friends. And all felt sure that, sooner or later, another storm of ecclesiastical vengeance would burst upon the heads of those who adhered to the Gospel. With such exposures and prospects, who can wonder that men who are not yet ready to forsake all for Christ, should hesitate publicly to commit themselves. In every instance, an open profession of obedience to Christ, rather than the Church, cost some sacrifice, besides the

constant exposure it involved, to anathema and persecution. But, although the mass of those who were only intellectually convinced of the truth, were deterred by prudential considerations from openly joining themselves with the people of God, yet, it is not to be believed that many of them would ever in reality go back to their former superstitions. By a comparison of these superstitions with the Word of God, they had once proved them, to their own satisfaction, to be a lie; and it is difficult to see how they could ever again really believe them to be true. And, as a matter of fact, we have seen that, in circumstances like those in which the Armenians have been placed, the mind does not work in this way. Small as was the actual number of those who, at the different stations, were ready, at this time, to brave all danger for Christ, another ten or fifteen years of progress in the same proportion, will show a whole community reformed; who, instead of requiring missionaries from America to preach the Gospel to them, will be ready both to supply their own need, and also to send preachers abroad among the different races in Western and Central Asia.

During the winter of 1843-4, the stations in Turkey were favored with a visit from the Rev. Rufus Anderson, D.D., Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the Rev. Joel Hawes, D.D., a corporate member of the Board. An opportunity was thus afforded for full consultations on various subjects, having a practical bearing on the missionary work, the results of which clearly attested the expediency of the measure. An important change followed in reference to one department of our labors. The mission to the Greeks in Turkey was abandoned. Mr. Riggs, of

Smyrna, and Mr. Ladd, of Brûsa, hitherto laboring exclusively in this department, now gave themselves up to the work among the Armenians. Mr. Benjamin, of Athens, joined the station at Trebizond, with a view to the same field. Mr. Calhoun removed from Smyrna to Syria, and Mr. Temple, much to the regret of all who knew him, returned to America. Though his ardent desire was to live and die in the missionary field, yet his own judgment corresponded with that of the secretary, and of Dr. Hawes, as also of his brethren in the field, that, at the age of fifty-four, it wonld not be wise for him to attempt the acquisition of a new and difficult language, which was an indispensable condition for preaching the gospel among the Armenians.

From 1843 to 1846, there was no long period of exemption from persecution, though throughout the whole field, the spirit of inquiry and discussion wonderfully spread, and believers were multiplied. On the whole, there was a very decided increase in the size of the congregations on the Sabbath, though, both at Trebizond and Erzrûm, it became necessary, during a portion of the time, to suspend public worship, on account of the hostility of the hierarchy. There was, indeed, such a hungering for the Word, as has probably been rarely witnessed in this world. The Seminary at Bebek, as well as the houses of the missionaries in Pera, became a very common place of resort for small parties of men and women, who came on every day of the week, and at all hours, and were almost clamorous to hear the gospel preached. Several of the pupils in the seminary at this time were pious, and it never had a stronger hold upon the affections of the seriously disposed portion of the

community, or was doing more good. A pious widow, on placing her son there, said to him, "Henceforth you are to forget that I am your mother, and take Christ for your mother, and live for him alone. My only object in placing you at the school is, that you may know more of Christ, and become his true disciple."

It must be noted as one of the signs of progress belonging to the period now under review, that family worship, consisting of reading the Scriptures and prayer in the vulgar tongue, was established in many households; and often did the request come from females living in different quarters of the city, that meetings might be opened in their neighborhood expressly for the women. In short, there was no longer any obstacle in the way of access to this portion of the community, and it was becoming a field full of promise. As an evidence of the remarkable change that had taken place in this particular, I will state that during one day, devoted to visiting families in an Armenian quarter of the city, I must have preached the gospel to from thirty to forty females.

One of the most striking cases of conversion among them was that of a bigoted nun, from sixty to sixty-five years of age, who had spent her life in faithfully going the round of all the religious observances and penances usually prescribed by a rigid asceticism, and now, she had learned to count all these things "loss for Christ." Said she: "Formerly I thought that salvation would come from *doing* and *suffering* many things; but now, blessed be God, I have learned that Christ alone is my Saviour."

To meet the wants of the times, and in obedience to what seemed plainly to be a providential intimation, a fe-

male seminary was opened in Pera in the autumn of 1845. It was kept in the house of Mr. Goodell, in whose family the pupils boarded, and Miss Lovell, who had arrived from America for the purpose, the preceding spring, took charge of the educational department. The school opened with eight scholars, which were as many as could be sustained by our funds, though many parents were sadly disappointed when they were told we could receive no more.

In the Autumn of 1844 the Patriarch Asdûadzadûr, resigned his office, and Matteos, formerly bishop of Brûsa, but then of Smyrna, was appointed in his place. The former, before his resignation, became more and more openly intolerant towards Protestantism, though, for the most part, his enmity exhausted itself in words of bitterness and gall. Repeatedly did he declare, in different churches, that he and the principal men in the community had put themselves under vows to give themselves no rest until this most offensive heresy was entirely rooted out. On one occasion, after uttering the heaviest maledictions against the evangelical brethren, he expressed the wish that "their graves might be dug in haste, and their bodies buried in everlasting contempt, and so deep that the sound of the resurrection trump might never reach them!" And, at another time, after telling the people that the Protestants, under the cloak of religion, were seeking to destroy the Armenian faith, added; "May the curse of God be upon them; may they all be destroyed." The effect of these denunciations was no doubt to keep alive the spirit of fanaticism in some breasts, though coming from a person of the Patriarch's well-known character, they had comparatively but little influence. One brother was subjected to the most griev-

ous injustice and persecution under this Patriarch's reign. This was the pious priest so often alluded to under the name of Vertanes. He had been highly active and successful, both among men and women, in spreading a knowledge of the truth; and being a priest, it was so much the more offensive to the hierarchy; as it was also more easy for them to take revenge. A priest is the property of the Church, and must submit implicitly to the commands of his bishop or Patriarch; and he may be sent into the interior to perform duty, or to atone for spiritual offences, and the Turks would not only not offer any hindrance, but aid, if necessary, to carry into effect the Patriarch's or bishop's sentence.

Priest Vertanes had retired, as has been said, from the regular duties of the priest's office, though he still officially belonged to the priesthood, and whenever he was present at the patriarchal church, according to custom, they gave him a priest's robe to wear. In February of 1843, this robe was rudely taken from him by the chief priest of that church, who forbade him any longer to execute the priest's office. Immediately after, there was so much excitement in the city in regard to his case, that he thought it wise to absent himself, for a while, from the capital, and accordingly made a journey of eight months in the interior of Asia Minor and Armenia. Wherever he went he determined to "know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified;" and the judgment-day alone can disclose the amount of good accomplished by his labors. Soon after he returned, or in the early part of December, he was apprehended on the Sabbath, when coming out of church, and thrown into the Patriarch's prison. The Patriarch now tried to persuade him to yield to the Church,

and drew up a paper of recantation for him to sign. He replied that it would be impossible for him to put his name to such a document, but offered one of his own in its place, the amount of which was, that he was a regularly ordained priest of the Armenian Church, and that his office required him to preach Christ, which he had endeavored faithfully to do, and that he intended still to do the same. This paper the Patriarch refused to accept; but sent the priest still another, which also he could not subscribe. He then sent the Patriarch another, the same in substance with his former one, saying that this was all he could do "The Turks," said he, "lately beheaded an Armenian young man for denying the Mohammedan religion; if you wish, cut off my head here by the door of the church—your paper I cannot sign." The very next day the priest was strangely released. He did not, however, long enjoy his liberty. He was very soon seized again by the Patriarch's beadles, and hurried with great rudeness into an open sail-boat. An opportunity being denied him of taking any change of clothes, or even an outer garment from his house, although it was mid-winter, and he was hastily despatched across the Sea of Marmora, to the convent at Armash, near Nicomedia. The other brethren, however, were not intimidated by these violent movements, and our preaching services steadily grew in numbers, some new hearers being present every Sabbath.

The character of the new Patriarch has already been in part told. He was a vacillating man; well-convinced of the errors of his Church, and sometimes appearing to favor reform, but extremely afraid of offending the party that was strongest for the time being. The celebrated teacher, Peshtimaljian, whose name appears in the early part of

this narrative, knew him intimately, as one of his own scholars, and he was no mean judge of human character. As long ago as the year 1834, when Matteos was a simple vartabed in one of the village churches on the Bosphorus, and was on very friendly terms with us, the teacher gave him the following character, for our especial warning. He represented him as a man of enlightened views, but without principle, and always governed by what he considered the prevailing opinions and wishes of those whom he desired to please. When thrown among men of the ritual party, he was a ritualist, and when among evangelical men, he became evangelical. "In short," said the teacher, "he is just like an empty cistern. If you put your head to its mouth and say *boo*, the cistern says *boo;* if you say *bah*, the cistern answers *bah*." And every development we have seen of his character, from that time to the present, has justified this description of the discerning Peshtimaljian. Matteos is a man of more than common ability and shrewdness, and withal, exceedingly plausible in his manner, and deep in his schemes.

Soon after he came into power, many of the evangelical brethren called upon him; some in obedience to custom, and others by special invitation. To all he manifested a friendly spirit; and professed to be in favor of education and even of reform, and opposed to persecution. He was, however, exceedingly anxious that both the missionaries, and the "Bible-men" in the Armenian community should "keep still," and avoid all "agitation,"—as though such antagonistic elements as the truth of God, and the doctrines and practices of the Armenian Church, could be brought in contact without producing commo-

tion; and honest men, whose sincere desire and purpose was to live always in the fear of God, and to "maintain consciences void of offence both toward God and toward man," could readily consent to be led and controlled in their religious conduct, by the worldly, the time-serving, and the unprincipled.

The position of the Patriarch at this time, it must be acknowledged, was a most difficult one. The evangelical doctrines were spreading in all directions. The enemies of the truth were clamorous for some decisive measures which should effectually check the alarming tendency to Protestantism. They would neither allow their Patriarch to let the matter rest, nor to make any compromise. Already had the report gone abroad that Matteos himself was a Protestant. And in sober truth he knew and doubtless acknowledged to his own soul, that the Protestants were right and his own church wrong. I can even believe, that could he have been sure of carrying the people along with him, and also all his dignity, wealth, and honor, he would really have preferred to give up the old system, and embrace one that was more simple and less onerous. But he knew well, that the great mass of wealth and influence in the Armenian community was on the other side. He was ambitious; and now that he had attained to the highest post in his nation, he was resolved to keep it. He found the evangelical brethren much less disposed to yield in matters of faith and conscience, than his own indifferentism had led him to expect. There was no alternative; he must publicly assume the ground of an opposer. As the only means of saving himself, he firmly resolved to sacrifice the Protestants. From that moment, all his powers, personal and official, were

employed in the effort to eradicate Protestantism from the land. Only two general methods of accomplishing this object presented themselves; namely, persuasion, and force; or, in other words, argumentation, and persecution. He decided upon making, for his first experiment, a combination of the two, hoping that the effect of each would thereby be increased.

Almost every shopkeeper and artisan in Turkey depends for the chief profits of his business, upon the patronage of some wealthy and influential individuals; and young men, especially, have very little prospect of advancing in the world, without the assistance of some such friend. The Patriarch, by a skilful manœuvre, threw a large number of the adherents to the gospel, into the greatest distress. He secretly directed all the faithful among his own flock, who stood in the relation of patrons, or regular customers to any of the evangelical brethren, silently to withdraw their patronage. The consequence was, that many who supposed they were in a fair way of obtaining a competent support, found themselves suddenly without any business. Some of these had friends depending on them for daily food; when, all at once, it appeared that they had not the ability of providing for their own wants. And they soon found also that all appeals and remonstrances were useless, unless accompanied by a pledge to withdraw from the preaching of the missionaries, and cease to open their mouths in favor of evangelical views. Another, and still more threatening measure of opposition was, that all the priests were ordered to hand over to the Patriarch, the names of those who did not come to confession, and receive absolution, and partake of the communion in their respective

churches. Those whose consciences were fully enlightened (and they were specially aimed at in the measure,) were not able to conform to these rites, because of the superstition and idolatry involved. Now, excommunication was threatened to disobedience, the consequences of which, in a temporal point of view, must necessarily, in a community organized as this was, be very serious. There was a delay, however, in following up this part of the plan, perhaps in order to see what would be the result of the other. The experiment was to be made throughout the country, as well as in the metropolis, and orders similar to the above were sent to the bishops in the interior, wherever Protestants were found.

In the meantime, some few of the ecclesiastics themselves were showing strong inclinations towards the evangelical side of the question. Two or three vartabeds, as well as some of the priests, had gone so far as to persevere, from Sabbath to Sabbath, in attending the public preaching of the missionaries. Others were known to be friendly. Something must be done at once to check this tendency to Protestantism among the spiritual guides of the people. Bedros vartabed, the manner of whose conversion has already been alluded to, was the first selected to be made an example of. It was known through the whole city that he had embraced evangelical views, and the Patriarch, as a test of his opinions, had already ordered him to perform mass on a certain occasion, which Bedros had declined on conscientious grounds. The Patriarch now instructed him to proceed forthwith to a town on the Russian frontier, ostensibly to take charge of a diocese. The real object, however, was, plainly to get him into a position, from whence he might easily be

conveyed as a prisoner to the monastery of Echmiadzin. The vartabed very politely declined the honor of this appointment, and the Patriarch was not then prepared to resort to force. After some little delay, it was arranged that Bedrós should proceed to the monastery at Jerusalem. The Patriarch drew up a paper for him to sign, in which he was required to promise that he would perform all the rites of the Church, and, in all respects, be obedient to his superiors. This he resolutely persisted in refusing, on the ground that there were many things in the ceremonies of his Church, which he could not conscientiously perform. He never got nearer Jerusalem than Beirût; from whence he proceeded to Aleppo and Aintab. For many years he labored in these towns and their vicinity, with great zeal and fidelity for the spiritual good of his countrymen, though in the midst of many persecutions, trials, and dangers. He distributed large numbers of evangelical books, and preached the Gospel successfully to many people. He was suddenly cut off by the cholera in the autumn of 1849; but his end was peace.

It must be acknowledged that not much was made out of this case, so far as the intimidation of clerical inquirers was concerned, but the resolute Matteos was not to be discouraged. Priest Vertanes was fairly in his hands, being already a prisoner at the Monastery of Armash, whither he had been sent by the preceding Patriarch. And this priest had been adding sin to sin, by preaching to the monks, most zealously and faithfully, salvation through the blood of Christ alone, without the deeds of the law. Several of them were awakened and convinced, and some, it was hoped, really believed; and

word was brought to Constantinople that if the Protestant priest was not removed, all the inmates of the monastery would soon become corrupted. An imperial firman was forthwith procured (February, 1845), by Matteos Patriarch, for the further banishment of priest Vertanes to Kaisery (Cæsarea,) where Mr. Sahakian had been confined six years before, for a like offense. While on his way to that place, in the charge of a Turkish officer, he everywhere preached the Gospel, for which he was "in bonds;" nor could he, in the place of his second banishment, cease to make known "Christ and him crucified," to all unto whom he had access. In July of the same year, the Sultan, on the occasion of a great feast, gave orders to have all the exiles in the country set at liberty; and our persecuted brother returned to Constantinople on the 4th of August. Letters afterwards came to the Patriarch from Kaisery, saying, that Vertanes had seduced many, and that if he had remained there much longer, all would have gone after him. Thus the providence of God, in this instance also, overruled the evil designs of the hierarchy, and caused "the wrath of man to praise him."

While the priest was still in exile, another glaring case of persecution occurred, which properly belongs to this part of the narrative. A highly respectable inhabitant of Trebizond, Tateos by name, who had been a member of the Armenian municipal council, became very much interested in the study of the Bible. Being a man of some property, he went on a tour to Constantinople, Smyrna, Brûsa, Nicomedia, and Adabazar, solely for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the missionaries, and native brethren in those places, and learning more of

the work of God's Spirit, as well as of the truths of his Word. He returned to Trebizond, very much strengthened in his faith, and quickened in his zeal for the truth. Just before his arrival, the most stringent measures had been adopted to compel the evangelical brethren to submit to the Church, in obedience to a very urgent denunciatory letter from the Patriarch Matteos.

Nearly one-half of the reputed Protestants had been induced to recant, and the persecuting party, fearing, with good reason, that the influence of such a man might turn the scale, resolved to put him out of the way, with all possible despatch. Accordingly, just as the steamer was leaving for Constantinople, he was decoyed on board by stratagem, and immediately thrust down into the hold, and there confined, by order of the Turkish pasha, who acted at the instigation of the Armenian vartabed. Here was a faithful, honest, and valuable citizen, torn away from his affectionate wife and children, (they not knowing whither he was to be carried,) without even a show of examination, or trial, and without being told who was his accuser, or what was the accusation, or where he was going, and carried off under guard like a felon! Arrived at Constantinople, he was conducted first to the Patriarchate, and from thence to the Armenian hospital, to be confined in the mad-house! He was placed in a sitting posture, and fastened with two chains, one from his neck to the wall, and the other from his feet to the floor. It is impossible to tell how long he might have remained in this condition, had not some of the brethren, very providentially, discovered the place of his confinement, and gained admittance to him, notwithstanding every effort had been made at concealment, and the

strictest orders issued from the Patriarchate to permit no one from without to enter the room where he was. He was afterwards removed to a more remote apartment, so as to prevent all further access to him. On the Sabbath, the eighth day of his imprisonment, while the Armenian congregation were engaged in singing in the chapel in Pera, he entered the room—a free man! Much supplication had been made for him, and his sudden appearance among us, without our knowing how he had been liberated, strongly reminded all of the case of Peter, as recorded in the Acts. We united in special thanksgiving to God for his deliverance, and took courage. His case had been made known to Sir Stratford Canning, and there is no reason to doubt that the remonstrances of this benevolent individual caused the Patriarch to loosen his grasp upon this innocent victim of his oppression.

It was evident, from the very commencement of Matteos Patriarch's reign, that he regarded the Seminary at Bebek as a most important instrument of promoting and perpetuating Protestantism in the land. On this account he labored with the most unwearied assiduity for its overthrow. During a whole year, it occupied almost his unremitting attention, and many and ingenious were the plans he devised to accomplish his purpose. Nor did he hesitate to employ means that were positively dishonest and immoral. The utmost that he succeeded in effecting, however, was to detach half a dozen boys from the institution, while more than a dozen others were added in their stead; and to force an assistant teacher to leave us, whose place was very soon more than supplied by another.

But it was thought best to make, at least, a show of

argumentation, in order to give a check to the spread of evangelical views. The Patriarch's party had affected to despise the Protestants for their want of learning ; and it was hoped, that by engaging them in discussion with some of the strongest men of the other side, they would be so completely silenced as to become objects of contempt, and thus the current of public feeling be turned against them. The first of these discussions was held at the house of a very respectable Papal Armenian, a man of property and influence, who was himself opposed to Protestantism, and desirous of doing what he could to put it down. Several of his learned friends came together, among whom were three or four vartabeds ; and on the evangelical side were a few of our brethren—Mr. Apisoghom Khachadûrian, being the chief speaker. After two or three discussions on the infallibility of the Church, transubstantiation, confession to a priest, &c., the Roman party withdrew from the contest ; but the individual at whose house the meetings were held, was convinced that the evangelical side of the question was true, and afterwards he became, as we hope, a truly converted man. Very soon the Protestants were challenged to send their strongest men to meet the most famous of all their champions of Armenian orthodoxy, Mr. Chamûrjian, the principal of the Scûtary College. The whole arrangement of these meetings was such as to favor, as much as possible, the Patriarch's party. They were held at one of their own houses, and the proportion of Protestants invited was never probably more than one to ten of the Armenians. The subjects to be discussed were selected by the advocates of the Church, and prepared for beforehand, but by design, not made known to the Protestants,

until they appeared on the ground. It was found, however, that the clear and simple Scripture arguments of Mr. Khachadûrian, and his few companions, had far more effect on the minds of those present, than all the parade of scholastic logic and learning made by their boastful antagonist, and the meetings were soon discontinued. The press was now resorted to, and this same Mr. Chamûrjian published a work on baptismal regeneration, and another on transubstantiation, both of which were most ably and satisfactorily answered—the former by Mr. Wood, and the latter by Mr. Khachadûrian. At last, by express order of the Patriarch, a meeting for the discussion of religious topics was opened in a room connected with the great Patriarchal Church. Only those were permitted to take part in the debates, however, who had signed a paper professing attachment to the Church, and belief in its "orthodox" doctrines. This was intended to exclude all decided Protestants; and, indeed, the whole object of this new scheme was to bring the weak and the wavering under the potent influence of Mr. Chamûrjian's eloquence, in order to establish them in the Armenian faith. The subjects discussed were "faith and works," and "the infallibility and authority of the Church." Only three meetings were held, and the famous champion of the Patriarch was so completely foiled in argument at the two first, by two of the evangelical brethren, who got permission to speak, that, on both occasions, he left the room in anger, and at the third meeting he did not make his appearance at all. The chief speakers on the Protestant side of the question at these meetings were Mr. Stepan, now secular agent of the Protestant community at the Porte, and Mr. Avedis, then assistant

teacher in the Seminary at Bebek, at which he was educated, and now colleague pastor in the Evangelical Armenian Church in Constantinople. Three hundred persons, it is said, had assembled; and after waiting some time, the Protestants, three or four in number, retired. They were, however, followed in the streets by a company of "lewd fellows of the baser sort," and severely stoned; a method of treating Protestantism, which it seems, after all, was considered better adapted to the circumstances of the assailants, and far more cogent than argumentation.

Some of the presses of the Papal party were employed in issuing works in the Armenian, and Armeno-Turkish languages, intended to deepen the existing prejudices against Protestants, and hold up the missionaries to contempt. Among the most remarkable of these was a series of small volumes, published in Constantinople, by a French Jesuit, by the name of Boré. They were filled with slanders of the most abusive and shameless kind; and on this very account they utterly failed in their object. The author was evidently sent to the East for the express purpose of counteracting Protestant influences, and he seems to have been a fitly chosen tool for a society of men, whose foundations are laid in "all deceivableness of unrighteousness." At Constantinople, on his first arrival, he was a scientific traveller; at Oroomiah, he was a colonel, with sword and epaulets; at Tabriz, he was an humble school teacher; at Isfahan, he was a zealous propagator of the Roman faith; and at Mosul, he became a French Consul General, destined to the Holy Land!

Notwithstanding the hostility shown by the ecclesias-

tical powers, there was no diminution in the number of evangelical books distributed, but rather an increase. Two judicious, well-informed, and active brethren were constantly employed in traversing the length and breadth of the city, and also the shores of the Bosphorus, for the purpose of selling evangelical publications, and conversing with men, as opportunities offered, on religious subjects. They were highly useful in bringing their countrymen under the sound of the Gospel, and in other ways into contact with the missionaries. It was now also a common thing for strangers from the interior provinces to call upon Mr. Homes, and procure books to take back with them to their homes for circulation; and some of these were priests and vartabeds. Among those converted to the truth, were some who had formerly been in the ranks of the enemy. One of these, a man of about fifty years of age, confessed, with weeping and strong crying to God for forgiveness, that when the order had come from the Patriarch, some time previous, that all who possessed any of the Smyrna books should bring them to the Patriarchate, he unhesitatingly obeyed, and carried all his books there to be burned; which he now considered a very great sin, though it was done through ignorance. Another acknowledged that he stood by the door of the furnace, and assisted in crowding our books into the flames!

Besides the efforts made for spreading abroad our publications at the capital, several tours were performed by native agents, under the direction of Mr. Homes, in different parts of the interior, and always with encouraging success. One of these journeys embraced all the important places on the southern side of the Sea of

Marmora, where the brethren were well received, and many books were sold, and in each place, a small quantity was left in the hands of an agent for sale. Another longer journey was made by the evangelical Armenians, through different parts of Armenia, and especially the country bordering on the Euphrates. Owing to the fears of the people, they were not very successful in disposing of books, but they found many minds in an awakened state, and many favorable opportunities for making known the Gospel. They also had their trials from the opposition of some of the clergy. Another tour was made to Varna, in European Turkey, on the shores of the Black Sea. Several persons here showed a deep interest in listening to the Gospel, and nearly all the publications carried there were sold, and a new supply was afterwards forwarded from Constantinople. Still another tour was performed, by two of the brethren to various parts of European Turkey. They spent a whole month at Rodosto, where a strong Papal influence had recently been exerted, and several of the Armenians had expressed their determination to acknowledge allegiance to the pope. Our brethren succeeded in persuading them to turn away their ears from the delusive teachings of the emissaries of Rome, and a congregation for Papal worship, which a Romish priest had been gathering from among the Armenians, was very soon dispersed. Many were disposed to listen to the claims of the Gospel, and even among the priests, there was a searching for the truth. Five of them came at one time for religious inquiry. After leaving Rodosto, the brethren visited Adrianople and Philipopoli, and returned by way of Salonica. They had taken a large quantity of books with

them in the different languages of that part of the country, and they came back literally empty-handed, having been, by no means, able to supply the actual demand.

Among other marks of progress towards European civilization, though not improvement, in Turkey, was the establishment of a censorship of the press. Whether it was some friendly foreign power, or a Christian Patriarch, that first made the suggestion, is not certainly known. It became a troublesome innovation, however, to our book distributing enterprise, and threatened to be still more so; but a kind Providence soon freed us from all embarrassment on the subject. It was at first made a rule, that no book should be introduced into the metropolis without being examined and sanctioned by the Patriarch in whose language it was printed. We soon ascertained, however, that the whole object of the law, so far as the government was concerned, was to shut out inflammatory political works, and our well-known character with the Turkish authorities was a sufficient guarantee that none of our publications would come under this denomination. Indeed the officer at the custom house whose duty it was to superintend this department, seemed to take special pains to suffer our boxes of books to pass easily through.

Among the evangelical brethren, a temperance society was formed, which was the first one of the kind that ever existed in Turkey. Dr. Sewall's plates of the stomach were used with very good effect in lecturing on the subject. This movement was rendered the more interesting from its being entirely self-prompted.

Within the space of about six months, no less than four individuals from among the Armenians who had given satisfactory evidence of piety, were called away from this

world. They all died in peace, and almost with their latest breath were enabled to bear testimony to the truth, and power of the Gospel. Such cases were new in that part of the world, where, uniformly, every effort is made to divert the attention of a dying person from all thoughts of death, and to lead him to suppose, even to the very last, that he is about to recover. The case was probably never before known among the Armenians, of a dying man talking calmly and joyfully even of his own dissolution, and expressing the most delightful assurance that he was soon to be received into the joy of his Lord. And of what account is all the treasure expended during the present missionary age, for the purpose of bringing the unevangelized to a knowledge of the Gospel, compared with the priceless value of such hopes and joys!

During the period of time embraced in this chapter, the angel of death was also commissioned to invade the missionary circle. Mrs. Van Lennep was called in the youthful ardor of her missionary career, to exchange the toils, and self-denials, and exposures of her position here, for a higher and nobler work in the kingdom above. She died on the 27th of September, 1844. Within less than a year from the time of her embarkation from America, she finished her earthly course. She kept the faith, and is now doubtless wearing the "crown of glory which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give to all them that love his appearing." Mr. and Mrs. Van Lennep had been removed from Smyrna to Constantinople during the preceding spring, for the express purpose of taking charge of the female seminary then in prospect, and her early removal was on this account an uncommonly grievous affliction to the mission.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cruelty of the Bishop of Erzrûm—Good from Evil—Enlightened Prelates the worst Persecutors—Central position of Erzrûm—Truth spreading in the Villages—Prosperity at Trebizond—Death of a Believer—Shameful Burials—Vacillating Ecclesiastic—Boghos the Persecutor—Measures of Coercion—Arrest of Protestants—House of Mr. Bliss stoned—Evil effects of Persecution—Influence of Trebizond on the interior—Just views prevailing at Brûsa—A Hermit converted—Progress in Brûsa and its villages—Missionary tours to Nicomedia and Adabazar—A Persecutor converted—Deep Earnestness—Instances of Persecution—At Kurdbeleng—Pious English Families at Nicomedia—Death of Mr. Mugurdich and Mr. Sarkis at Smyrna—Vartabed from Tarsus—Mr. Van Lennep at Tocat.

The work of the Lord was stationary in no part of the Armenian field, nor was the persecuting power long at rest. At the metropolis there were restraints upon the hierarchy and its supporters, which were comparatively little felt in the provinces; and it often happened that the most outrageous cruelties were practiced upon Protestants in the interior, while at the capital, the brethren were living in peace and quietness. The Bishop of Erzrûm seemed to exceed all others in the bitterness of his wrath against the followers of the Gospel, and the determined perseverance of his cruelty. He had spies placed in every part of the town, to watch the conversa-

tion and movements of the people, and, oftentimes, his priests were stationed on the roofs of the houses adjacent to the residences of the missionaries, to notice their visitors, and never did he suffer a known case of disobedience to his orders to go unpunished. In repeated instances was the cruel bastinado applied under his own eye, merely for the offense of uttering some expression that indicated a reverence for the Word of God. One fine young man received twenty blows on his bare feet, and was afterwards thrown into prison, because he committed the double sin of selling to another a copy of the Psalms, in the Modern Armenian, and of calling at the house of one of the missionaries. Another, a teacher of a country school, was severely bastinadoed for teaching the Gospel to the inhabitants of the village. Another still, a merchant, who had early embraced the truth, was knocked down in the bishop's own room, cruelly beaten, and afterwards excommunicated, and the people commanded to spit in his face in the street; merely because he visited the missionaries. His priest, for showing so much sympathy as to call upon him, was himself summoned before the bishop, and bastinadoed. Another, who had called once at Mr. Peabody's house and procured some books, was seized, put in irons, and thrown into prison. His books were taken and burnt before his eyes, and he was liberated only by giving a written pledge that he would never more have anything to do, either with the missionaries or their books. Still another, and a truly pious young man, was punished with the cruel bastinado, for no other offense than that he was overheard by some of the bishop's emissaries to

say something which implied a desire to shape his conduct according to the Bible.

In most cases, these violent measures only tended to confirm the individuals in their new views, as they more clearly developed the true spirit of the ruling authorities in the Church. It was also the testimony of those upon the ground that the truth never made so much progress among the permanent Armenian population of Erzrûm, as during the very period of these outrages. Visits to the missionaries for religious inquiry increased in number and interest; books were called for; and several who had never personally known the missionaries were in the habit of meeting together for the purpose of reading the Scriptures, and assisting one another in understanding them.

A bitter opposer of the truth, and one who had been especially active in procuring the punishment of the young teacher mentioned above, was suddenly convinced of his error, and began most zealously to preach the very faith he once sought to destroy. Nor was this the only case of the kind. Another, who also was formerly violent in his opposition, a man of wealth and influence, was so far interested in the truth, as to attend the preaching of Mr. Peabody, and give his full assent to its truth. A vartabed, also attended, who was not a little enlightened, and anxious to do good to his people.

It is a mournful but instructive fact, that the most resolute persecutors among all the prelates of the Armenian Church, were three men, who were among the earliest friends of the missionaries, and whose minds were probably more enlightened in regard to the truths of the Gospel, than any of their rank, who still retain connec-

tion with the old establishment. Matteos, Patriarch of Constantinople, the story of whose worst persecutions is still to be told; Eprem, Bishop of Erzrûm, whose outrageous conduct has just been briefly described; and Boghos Vartabed of Trebizond, who, in his unjust and cruel warfare against the true disciples of Christ, was not much behind the other two, were neither ignorant nor bigoted men. On the contrary, they all knew and acknowledged the errors and superstitions of their Church, and had often strongly expressed their desires for reform, and two of them, at least, had suffered persecution as Protestants; but now they were the most bold and zealous and persevering of the persecutors! They loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.

Apparently, one principal reason why the hierarchy was so very determined and persevering in its measures to expel Protestantism from Erzrûm, was its central position, and its consequent influence on all the interior provinces of Armenia. And this, in fact, gives it its chief importance as a missionary station. Both the missionaries, and also their native assistant, were in the habit of making tours in different directions for the purpose of preaching the Gospel, and distributing books. In the district of Pasin, east of Erzrûm, which embraces, in all, nearly two hundred villages, Mr. Peabody found both priests and people remarkably accessible. One or two of the former manifested special seriousness of mind. And in the nearer villages, although the bishops had strictly forbidden the people from receiving our books and having intercourse with the missionaries, yet a few were always found whose minds were so much awake to the importance of the truth, as to lead them to pay but little regard

to the injunctions of their spiritual rulers. In one instance, the chief priest himself was very anxious for instruction in the way of salvation, and so were several of his people; and in another, two vartabeds seemed to have some sense of the evil of sin, and a desire to know how to escape from it. There were everywhere adversaries to be found; but neither this, nor the violence and fearful threatenings of the bishop were sufficient to deter the people from seeking our publications, and availing themselves of personal intercourse, whenever that was practicable. And not unfrequently did individuals from Egin, Diarbekr, and other distant places, call upon the missionaries in Erzrûm, for the express purpose of religious inquiry. A missionary tour of two or three months to Sivas, Erzengan, Egin, &c., made by Mr. Harûtun, then assistant of the mission, and now pastor of the Evangelical Church in Nicomedia, brought to light many encouraging facts in regard to the state of men's minds in that part of the country. In every important place some inquirers were found, and only laborers seemed to be needed to gather in an abundant harvest.

The Gospel had made very encouraging progress at Trebizond, so far as an intellectual conviction of its truth was concerned. That station, indeed, would not suffer in this respect, in comparison with any other in Turkey. The quiet preaching of the Word, and the distribution of the Scriptures, and of other evangelical books and tracts, had, by the blessing of God, moved many minds, and taught them the difference between truth and error. They became diligent and earnest students of the Word of God, and gladly availed them-

selves of every opportunity of coming together for prayer. Still, not many of the whole number were far enough advanced to be willing to run much risk for the truth's sake; and few, indeed, gave fully satisfactory evidence of being "born again." The tests of Christian character, however, in the circumstances of these people, it must be confessed, are somewhat different from what they are among those who have been born and educated under the best evangelical influences. The people grow up cursing, lying, drinking to excess, and giving a loose rein to every wicked passion; and in general, there is no tenderness of conscience on any of these points, and no true knowledge of the evil of sin. To leave off cursing, and lying, and drunkenness, and reviling, in such circumstances, implies a far greater change, than any similar effect would imply among the religiously educated population of America. And if, in addition, we see them bearing every species of ignominy, and abuse, and persecution, meekly and uncomplainingly for the Gospel of Christ, and, at the same time, pursuing with avidity the study of God's Word, and reverently submitting to its authority; and choosing the society of God's people, and the privileges of his house, though thereby exposed to much temporal inconvenience and danger; how can we avoid the conclusion that here is evidence of a radical change of character, even that which the Holy Spirit alone can effect? It was exceedingly gratifying to see the increasing watchfulness against sin, spirit of prayer, humility, zeal, devotedness to God, and other signs of spiritual progress manifested by some of the brethren. Not unfrequently also, there were new cases of conversion coming to the knowledge of the missionaries.

A young man of superior mind and attainments, belonging to the Papal Armenian denomination, who had, for some time, given the most satisfactory evidence of piety, was called to his rest in the spring of 1844. He had been greatly troubled by his priest, who made every effort to reclaim him, even to the very last moment of his life. Mugurdich, for that was his name, was very decided, and a few days before his death he made a formal renunciation of his Church, in writing; and peacefully committed his all to Christ. His body was not permitted burial in the graveyard, or with the usual religious ceremonies, but at a late hour of a very dark and stormy night, it was carried out by common street porters, under the direction of a Turkish police officer, and placed under the ground, in the midst of a waste place about a mile from the city. They had previously attempted to frighten him back to his Church by threatening to bury him like a dog, and faithfully did they execute the threat; though, as he told them at the time, they could do him no real harm, for they could not reach his soul.

This is an appropriate place for narrating briefly the circumstances of another burial in Trebizond, of somewhat similar character. A woman died, whose husband and sons were among the evangelical party. She herself had remained faithful to her Church to the very last, as her priest testified, and yet the ecclesiastical authorities decided that she should not receive a Christian burial, unless her husband and sons would recant. No one had the slightest suspicion of the woman, and the whole was a mere trick to reclaim the offenders; as it was thought no motive could be urged upon them that would make a stronger appeal to their feelings than this. They could

not yield the Gospel of Christ, however, even to save their family from so great an insult and outrage; and after the greatest trouble, and being obliged to keep the body an unwonted time, they were at length compelled to carry it out, amid the jeers and spittings of the crowd, and bury it at a distance from the city, in the corner of a Mussulman's farm!

The course pursued by the vartabed at Trebizond, in reference to the evangelical party, was strangely vacillating. One day he gave permission to the brethren to hold meetings for the reading of the Scriptures; and the next he denounced them from the pulpit, and seized and tore up their books with his own hands. Again he conceded to them the privilege of meeting for religious worship in their own way, and actually made a public appointment to that effect, designating a priest who should be present, and then again, after three meetings had been held, eighty or more persons being present at each, he countermanded the order, preached most violently against the Protestants, and threatened the book-agent of the mission with the bastinado, if he did not relinquish his employment. The true secret of his conduct was, that he tried to please two contending parties; and of course neither was satisfied. One man urged him to root out the Protestants by persecution; and when he was commencing the experiment, another would come and tell him that he had better let those men alone, or he would get himself into trouble. "Alas!" said the poor vartabed, "I am burning between two fires. One party will not be satisfied unless I persecute, and another rebukes me if I do. Would that I had never come to this place."

At length this dignitary was induced to make formal complaint to the pasha against the Protestants. The pasha requested a list of their names, and here an unanticipated difficulty arose. The vartabed's counsellors could not agree upon the names to be sent in; for each had friends among the proscribed, whom he was unwilling thus to hand over to the terrible uncertainties of a Turkish tribunal. In these ways the Lord defeated the counsels of his enemies.

For several months afterwards, owing to a quarrel among the Armenians about their vartabed, some wishing to remove him from office, and others to have him retained, there was a respite from persecution, and the brethren gathered strength for coming contests, which were not far distant. The fickle-minded vartabed was, at length, superseded by one far more decided, and talented, though unfortunately more destitute, also of religious principle. This was Boghos, to whom allusion has been made; formerly a professed friend, but now an open enemy of the Gospel. Soon after his accession, he entered upon a series of violent efforts to arrest the reformation. He first summoned before him two brothers, who were justly considered as among the leaders in the reform, and dealing very mildly with what he pleasantly called their "errors," he tried to prejudice their minds against the missionaries, calling us by certain hard names, and uttering many slanders against us. The answers of the brethren to all this, were so perfectly satisfactory, that the vartabed became rather excited; but he smothered his anger, and let them go in peace, charging them to think on the way they were pursuing, until he should send for them again. In the course of

ten days they were, a second time, ordered to appear in his presence, he having this time called to his assistance his council of twelve. Three principal charges were now brought against the accused, namely, attending the preaching of the Americans; shutting themselves up in a room alone to pray; and refusing to go to market on the Sabbath, when ordered by their father. Both the vartabed and his counsellors became considerably excited, in consequence chiefly of their inability to meet the Scripture arguments that were brought forward by the two brethren; and it was very evident that there was a disposition, if not a determination, to resort to measures of force. Several acts of petty persecution followed, but nothing was to be attempted on a large scale, until the Patriarch at Constantinople, who had been written to, should be heard from. His answer at length came, during the spring of 1845, and it was quite characteristic. All social and business intercourse with the Protestants was strictly prohibited; even salutations in the streets were not to be given or received; those occupying hired houses, or shops, were immediately to be thrust out; and every similar method of harassing and injuring them was to be diligently employed; and if all this failed, more stringent measures were to be adopted. These orders were obeyed to the letter, and soon it was impossible for any of the evangelical brethren to appear in the streets without being grossly insulted, and, indeed, exposed to personal danger; and at home their condition was not much better. They all stood firm for a while, but at length, one after another yielded, and in the course of ten days, about one-half of those who had been numbered among the readers of the Gospel had recanted. Just at

this juncture happened the return and seziure of Mr. Tateos, who was sent to Constantinople, as narrated in the last chapter.

This step was quickly followed up by other acts of violence, calculated greatly to increase the panic of the brethren. The vartabed, with such a letter in his hand from head quarters, could easily procure from the civil authorities any amount of aid he might require. One of the Protestants, who had recanted, was so troubled in conscience, in view of this act, that he went boldly to this dignitary, and took back his recantation. He was immediately thrown into prison; and the names of all who still refused to submit to the Church were handed over to the pasha, and a general arrest was determined upon. During nearly the whole of that night, the one immediately succeeding the departure of Mr. Tateos, the police guards were patrolling the streets, under arms, and sometimes forcibly entering houses, in search of the doomed victims of ecclesiastical wrath. Three more individuals were arrested in the course of the night, and thrown into the felons' prison. Some of the brethren had fled into the country, where they were hunted the next day like wild beasts. Others were secreted in the city, and the police soldiers were frequently seen traversing the streets in hot haste, to ferret them out. Great was the exasperation of the enemy, in some instances lashed up to madness, by their little success in finding their prey. One of the prisoners, who was the oldest of the two brothers, first summoned before the vartabed, on his arrival in Trebizond, was forthwith sent into exile to a place called Karahissar, some two or three hundred miles in the

interior.* As the other prisoners were soon liberated, it was evident that much of the violence displayed on this occasion was for show and effect. It ought to be mentioned, in this connection, as showing the ferocious spirit of the times, that the house of Mr. Bliss was attacked by a mob, who, for an hour or more pelted it with stones, and other missiles, breaking all the windows that were exposed, and, of course, endangering the lives and limbs of the family within. Fortunately, however, most of the windows were protected by strong wooden shutters, and no one was injured.

Though the violence of the enemy in Trebizond was temporarily curbed, yet the persecution left desolation in its track. From various causes, very few indeed of those who were regarded as truly converted men, were left upon the ground. One had died, others were absent on business; others had moved away on account of their exposures to persecution; and two were in exile. Mr. Powers, however, found that some were still hungering for the bread of life, and were ready to attend a preaching service, though they came with much fear and trembling. Neither anathemas, loss of business and reputation, opposition of friends, exile, or threats of still more direful punishment, had yet subdued the "Gospel readers," as they were often tauntingly called.

The influence of the Trebizond station in the interior was more and more felt. An enlightened priest living in a district not very remote, was active in promoting edu-

* Application was subsequently made to Matteos Patriarch, by the British Ambassador, for the release of this brother from exile. The Patriarch replied that neither he, nor his bishop at Trebizond had anything to do with the case, and that it was not religious persecution at all, but the man was banished by the Turkish authorities for some civil misdemeanor!

cation, and also in inculcating evangelical views. Another country priest, who had been an opposer, suddenly became an advocate of the Gospel. A pious book-agent employed in Tocat and its vicinity, was quite successful in distributing our publications, as well as in getting access to priests and people, and interesting them in religious conversation.

While persecution was the order of the day at Trebizond and Erzrûm, the brethren at Brûsa were permitted, for the most part, to live in peace. Occasional threats were given out, exciting temporary alarm, but no violence was resorted to, and the preaching service, and other labors, were continued without interruption. The Scriptures in the vulgar language, were introduced into a girls' school, opened and supported by the Armenian community, and they were also become more and more extensively read by the people. It was not therefore surprising to find more just views of the doctrines of the Gospel beginning to prevail. One of the primates said one day to Mr. Schneider, that it was a great mistake to suppose that baptism was regeneration; "for then," said he, "all who bear the name of Christians would be saved. But baptism is only an external application, while the new birth spoken of by our Saviour is a radical change of character." A few years previous, not an individual could have been found in all the city of Brûsa, making such a distinction. One of the native brethren had a long conversation with two vartabeds, on the unscriptural usages of their Church. They fully assented to the truth of what he said, but asked, "Who can dare to speak of these things publicly?" They needed to be wholly subdued by the Gospel of Christ, in order courageously to

avow their own convictions; but even this mere intellectual persuasion of the truth was encouraging as a mark of progress, and especially as an omen for good among the ecclesiastics.

A most interesting illustration of the power of the Gospel in transforming the whole character, was presented about the same time. An individual had lived for a long time as a wandering hermit, in deserts and mountains, only visiting the abodes of men at long intervals to procure food. He carried about with him a small bone, which he had received as the relic of some saint, and with this he would pretend to cure diseases, receiving food in pay, and when his food was exhausted, he sometimes subsisted for days upon roots and grass. Hearing of the missionaries in Brûsa, he called upon Mr. Schneider, and asked his opinion of the use of relics, and other superstitious observances. The conversation gave him entirely new thoughts on the subject of religion. He soon abandoned his bone, and requested Mr. S. to give him a copy of the New Testament in its place. From that hour this book was his bosom companion, nor did he read it in vain. The Holy Spirit was his teacher, and Christ, and he alone, became his hope, his peace, and his joy. Rarely has this world seen a brighter example of meek, unassuming, simple-hearted, and active piety.

In January, 1845, the missionaries in Brûsa gave it as their deliberate judgment, that in no previous year had light and knowledge of the Scriptures been so much diffused abroad there, as during the year 1844. Many were convinced of the errors of their Church, and of the truth of the evangelical system. An interesting feature in the work was, that females were coming more under

the influences of the Gospel. Some of them exhibited great tenderness of mind, and seemed ready to forsake their old paths of superstition and sin, and walk only in the way prescribed by the Word of God. These statements in regard to the general progress of evangelical truth, apply, to a considerable extent, to all the villages around Brûsa, where Armenians are found. Several missionary tours were made during the period now under review, both by the missionaries and their native assistant; and they always disclosed an awakened state of mind at least in some individuals. It was found that the people themselves were holding meetings for reading the Scriptures and prayer, in small numbers, in three or four of the villages, and some of the priests were exceedingly interested in the new truths they had discovered in the Gospel. One village priest seemed to be a truly pious man, and was actively engaged in doing good. On every Sabbath day, as well as on feast days, he with ten or twelve others met for prayer, either in his own house, or in a retired spot in the mountains. The vartabed of the same church gave his full sanction to the circulation of our books. It was very evident that evangelical sentiments were rapidly spreading, notwithstanding the many adversaries that were everywhere to be found. Some of the principal ecclesiastics procured from the Turkish governor of the district around the lake of ancient Nice, an order, which was read in most of the churches, forbidding people to talk on religious subjects, or even to mention the word Protestant, on penalty of the bastinado, and imprisonment for three years, with confinement in the stocks. A copy of this order was procured and read by Mr. Schneider. It had the effect of retarding the open

profession of the truth, but could not arrest its progress in the minds of men. Mr. Schneider himself visited Balikesr this year, at the time of the annual fair, instead of sending an agent as he had been accustomed to do, and he sold upwards of 500 books to persons from all parts of the interior; besides having opportunities for preaching to several men of awakened minds.

As no missionary was stationed at Nicomedia, or Adabazar, it was necessary that missionaries from other stations should occasionally visit those places. This was done, not statedly, but irregularly, though as often as circumstances would admit. During the years 1844 and 1845, preaching tours were made to these towns twice by the author, once by Mr. Schneider, and twice by the Rev. A. Smith, M.D., who had joined the mission to the Armenians. The chief rulers in the Armenian communities were either careless skeptics, or zealous ritualists, and in either case, equally hostile to the spread of a pure and spiritual Christianity. Among the influential clergy also, there was no lack of active opposers to the Gospel scheme. On the other hand, the evangelical brethren were few in numbers, had little political influence, and were destitute of human protection, very nearly in proportion as they were removed from the metropolis. Often were they visited with petty persecutions, and threatened with everything that was terrible. They were annoyed in their business, and hindered from coming together for religious worship. They were afraid to be seen with a missionary, or even with one another. And yet they grew and multiplied. The Lord restrained the wrath of man, and made their very "enemies to be at peace with them." On one occasion, when the brethren in Nico-

media were obliged to hold their meetings in the fields, on account of the "fury of the oppressor," a hot-headed young man, of great muscular power, who was "exceedingly mad against them," took with him "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort," the regular tools of the persecutor in all times and places, and armed with large sticks, they repaired to the place where they had ascertained "prayer was wont to be made;" with the full determination of inflicting bodily chastisement on the brethren. The leader of the meeting, who was the special object of their hatred, saw them present, and knew well for what purpose they had come. Fixing his eyes on the young man at the head of the band, and calling him tenderly by name, while he held up to view a copy of the New Testament, from which he was about to read, he said, "Is there anything bad in this book, that you wish to prevent us from reading it." The young man was immediately overcome; he threw away his weapon, became a deeply anxious inquirer after the truth, was wholly transformed in his character, united himself heart and hand with the people of God, and, in his turn, became a persecuted follower of the Lord Jesus Christ.

It was generally thought necessary to observe the utmost caution in holding intercourse with the missionaries when they came to Nicomedia and Adabazar. Meetings for conversation, preaching, and prayer, were usually held in the evening, and sometimes even at midnight, in some "upper room," for fear of the Armenians, as in apostolic times, similar expedients were resorted to for fear of the Jews. Preaching on the Sabbath was usually in some retired garden, or in a secluded spot in the distant fields. Nothing could exceed the interest of

these occasions. Here were men that had just emerged from the deepest spiritual darkness, living as sheep in the midst of wolves. Their enemies were many and powerful, ferocious, and untiring. It is impossible to describe the joy with which they always welcomed the coming of a missionary, and the eagerness with which they listened to every word that fell from his lips. With them the assembling of themselves together for prayer, and reading and hearing the Word of God, was no mere matter of form and custom. They were deeply in earnest about religion. They felt that their duties to Christ and his Gospel were paramount to every other. Their whole souls seemed enlisted, and the Bible was their daily source of nourishment, for which they hungered and thirsted, as for their daily food. And though living under such constant exposures to persecution, they seemed full of peace and joy. More cheerful and happy Christians could scarcely be found in this wide world. The weight of responsibility resting upon the missionary who was called to address such men, in such circumstances, seemed almost too great to be borne.

A few instances of persecution will be narrated, as specimens of the trials to which these "little ones" of Christ were subject. One of the brethren in Adabazar, for refusing to open his shop on the Sabbath, was sent by a powerful Armenian, to get out ship timber for government, from a mountain forest, in the midst of rain and snow. He was a weakly man, and wholly unaccustomed to such hard work; and, no doubt, would have perished, had not the Turks, who saw his weakness, befriended and released him. A priest, who showed friendliness to the evangelical men, had his beard shaved off; which was

the greatest disgrace they could fix upon him, in the estimation of the people. An individual, who sold our publications was put in the stocks. Four or five of the brethren were carried off to the Convent of Armash, and there imprisoned, merely because they would not conform to the superstitions of the Church. As soon as this was known, four or five more went, of their own accord, to the same place, and surrendered themselves up, saying, "We are of the same sentiments with these men, and we wish to share in their trials." They were accordingly imprisoned. In the Armenian village of Kûrdbeleng, where there were several "Gospel readers;" the head ruler of the community, who was a banker, instigated by the chief priest, procured a Turkish police officer from a neighboring place, and after making him drunk, set him to beating the Protestants, which he did with a heavy stick, in so unmerciful a manner, that one of them nearly died. It should be recorded in this place, that this same banker was afterwards assassinated in his own house, by a man hired for the purpose by some personal enemies, and encouraged to the deed by the same chief priest, who had instigated the persecution of the Protestants. So did God follow with judgments the oppressors of his people!

One of the brethren at Nicomedia was called away from his earthly labors during the month of October, 1845. He was strong and joyful in the Lord, even to the very last, and talked very cheerfully with his friends of dying, and going to be with Christ. During this year, several Englishmen, with their families, took up their abode in Nicomedia, having been procured from England by the government, to superintend a woollen factory near

that place. Very providentially, the superintendent, Mr. Binns, and his brother, with their wives, were devoted Christian people, of the Baptist persuasion, and their influence was highly salutary. The native brethren were much comforted by their presence, and were, in several instances, substantially relieved in times of persecution and distress. And during a long interval, when the watchful enemy would not suffer the Protestants to meet in any other place for worship, Mr. Binns's house was kindly opened to them for this purpose.

The Smyrna station was called to part with two very valuable assistants in the department of translation. The first was Mr. Mugurdich Tovmasian, a very useful translator, but especially active and successful in personal conversation with individuals on the subject of religion. He died in Constantinople, and his last words were, "I know that I am a great sinner; but I think I can say, my Saviour is mine and I am his." The second was Mr. Sarkis, one of the best scholars among his people, and the third individual in Constantinople whose heart the Lord touched, at the beginning of the work among the Armenians. "I know that I am a great sinner," said he, in his last moments, "but he is a greater Saviour." These precious dying testimonies of the power of the Gospel, are the same in all countries, and in all ages of the world!

A vartabed, from Tarsus, called upon Mr. Adger, and expressed the greatest interest in the books that had come into his hands in that distant place, from our press. His mind was evidently much awakened. The Armenian service in Smyrna was attended by from ten to sixteen persons at the close of the year, 1845, and some

minds were active and earnest in searching after the true way of salvation. The Rev. Joel S. Everett joined this station, with his wife, in the spring of 1845. They were afterwards removed to Constantinople, to be connected with the Armenian Female Seminary, in which field they are still laboring.

Tocat was visited by Mr. Van Lennep, of the Constantinople station, and an urgent desire was expressed by a few evangelical men, for a missionary to be located permanently there. A spirit of inquiry seemed to be generally diffused among the Armenians both in the towns and throughout the adjacent country. "The harvest truly was plenteous, but the laborers were few."

CHAPTER IX.

Relations of the Evangelical Armenians to the Church—Their Duties to the Civil Community—The Patriarch a Civil Officer—The Protestants Obedient to the Powers that be—New Method of Coercion—Anathema of Priest Vertanes—Denunciation of the Patriarch—Temporal Penalties inflicted—Fanaticism triumphant—Second Anathema—Paper of Recantation—Patriarch's new Creed—Instances of Oppression—Bread and Water Withheld from Protestants—Signature to the New Creed—Interview between Mr. Khachadûrian and the Patriarch—God supporting his People—Estimate Placed upon the Gospel—Visitors Increase by Persecution—Letter to the Patriarch—Do. to the Primates—Petition to Reshid Pasha—Do. to the Foreign Ambassadors—Four Individuals Imprisoned—Attempt to Banish Protestants—Religious Liberty Proclaimed by the Government—Release of the Prisoners—All Protestants Calumniated—False Witnesses—Shelter Procured for the Houseless—Kindness of the Rev. Mr. Allen—Generous Contributions.

Hitherto, the Evangelical Armenians had remained members of the ecclesiastico-civil community in which they were born. They lived in different degrees of conformity with the requisitions of the Church, according to the amount of light they had, and their readiness to endure reproach and suffering for Christ's sake. Some absented themselves entirely from the public services in their churches, feeling that to be present where there was so much of superstition and idolatry, was virtually to sanction what their consciences condemned. Others were

occasionally present to hear a sermon, though they made it a point to retire from the other parts of the service. Others still, chiefly those who were only intellectually convinced of the truth, were as regular in the external observance of the forms of Armenian religion as custom required; and, it should be mentioned, that previous to the Protestant movement, a great diversity had existed in this respect, in the practice of different individuals, and there had never been in the Armenian Church any of that rigor in enforcing ecclesiastical rules and observances, which so characterizes the Church of Rome.

According to the fundamental laws of the Turkish empire, every individual of its Christian subjects must be enrolled in some one of the existing communities, having a Patriarch at his head. To secede from one body, in order to join another, had repeatedly been forbidden by the Sûltan, and was always attended with danger; although Papal diplomacy and Papal gold had often atoned for the offence, where the secession was to the Papal faith.. To detach oneself from one community without coming into connection with any other, was equivalent to a renunciation of every civil right and privilege, and necessarily exposed the individual to all the evil consequences of complete outlawry. To make this fully understood, it will be necessary to enter somewhat into detail.

In the city of Constantinople, as well as in other large towns in Turkey, each trade is incorporated, and its affairs are regulated by a committee consisting of a small number of the most wealthy and powerful individuals in the business; and no person is permitted to open a shop, without a license from this committee. Frequently, a

single individual, who may be called the presiding officer, has, in practice, if not in form, the whole matter of granting, and withholding licenses in his own hands. A Turkish officer presides over all the trades, whose official sanction is necessary to give force and effect to the doings of the trade committees. Every journeyman, and apprentice even, must be furnished with a permit, to show to the Turkish police officers, whenever he is challenged in the streets, and if he fails to produce one, he is liable to be thrown into prison, as a disorderly man and a vagrant. On taking out these licenses, each individual is required to give two or more sureties, for good conduct, and the Patriarch is held as general surety for the whole community. It will soon appear what facilities were afforded, by these arrangements, to the persecutor to pursue his work with impunity, and even under the broad shield of the law. The particular object, at present in view, however, is to illustrate the true nature and effect of a voluntary withdrawal from the existing communities in Turkey. Take, for example, the Armenian community, as that is the one with which we have now chiefly to do. It must be borne in mind, that in the eye of the Turkish law, the jurisdiction of the Patriarch is a civil jurisdiction, and this is properly the light in which he is viewed by his own people. Ecclesiastically, as has already been explained, he is only a bishop, having really no more power in the church than any other bishop in the land. But, as Patriarch, he is superior to all the bishops, and this distinction has been conferred upon him by the Turkish government, or, in other words, it is a merely civil supremacy. His functions may be discharged by a priest, or even a layman, as indeed they

sometimes have been. If, now, the evangelical Armenians had at any time declared that they no longer acknowledged the authority of the Patriarch, as there was then no Protestant community recognized in Turkey, it would have been tantamount to civil rebellion, and they would have been dealt with as outlaws. In spiritual matters, those who were decided among them, carefully abstained, as has been stated, from all participation in superstition and idolatry. They attended regularly upon the ministry of the missionaries, and sat down at the table of the Lord with us, as guests; because they could neither profitably nor conscientiously, unite in this service at the Armenian Church. They retained connection, however, with their own people, and generally cherished the hope, amounting in some cases to a strong expectation, that by degrees, the great body of the Armenians would come over to the evangelical faith, and thus a serious rupture be avoided. The Patriarch Matteos, by his own act, effectually cut them off from this hope as will now be narrated.

The means hitherto employed for extirpating Protestantism, had signally failed of success. In the beginning of the year 1846, therefore, the Patriarch resolved to enter at once upon more coercive measures. The first subject selected for the new experiment, was Priest Vertanes, whose zealous and persevering labors for the spread of pure Christianity, were doubly odious on account of his being a member of the priesthood, and who had already been twice banished for his religion. One of the Patriarch's beadles was sent to his lodgings, together with the chief municipal officer of the Armenians in that quarter, in order to arrest him. The owner of the house, who

was friendly to his lodger, though not himself a Protestant, did not scruple to tell a falsehood, declaring that Vertanes was absent, and thus sent the officers away. The priest made his escape, the same night, to another part of the city, where he remained for several weeks, concealed in the house of a friend.

On Sunday, Jan. 25, after the usual morning services in the patriarchal church were finished, the house was darkened by extinguishing the candles, and the great vail was drawn in front of the main altar, and a bull of excision and anathema was solemnly read againt Priest Vertanes, including all the followers of the "modern sectaries." This beloved brother, who had already suffered much for his conscientious attachment to the Gospel of Christ, was styled by the Patriarch "a contemptible wretch," who, "following his carnal lusts" had forsaken the Church and was going about as a "vagabond," "babbling out errors," and being an "occasion of stumbling to many." He was said to be "a traitor, and murderer of Christ, a child of the devil, and an offspring of Antichrist, worse than an infidel or a heathen," for teaching "the impieties and seductions of modern sectaries (Protestants)." "Wherefore," says the Patriarch, "we expel him and forbid him as a devil, and a child of the devil, to enter into the company of believers. We cut him off from the priesthood, as an amputated member of the spiritual body of Christ, and as a branch cut off from the vine, which is good for nothing but to be cast into the fire. By this admonitory bull, I therefore command and warn my beloved in every city, far and near, not to look upon his face—regarding it as the face of Belial; not to receive him into your holy dwellings; for

he is a house-destroying and ravening wolf; not to receive his salutation, but as a soul-destroying and deadly poison; and to beware, with all your households, of the seducing and impious followers of the false doctrine of the modern sectaries (Protestants); and to pray for them to the God who remembereth not iniquity, if perchance they may repent and turn from their wicked paths, and secure the salvation of their souls, through the grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever. Amen."*

Nor were these the mere words of an antique form, uttered in obedience to custom, but in reality regarded as obsolete. If the language of the form was severe, the language of the accompanying popular harangue was still more so. The bull of excision and anathema was followed by a violent denunciatory discourse from the Patriarch, against all the Protestants in general, and the priest in particular, which called forth many loud "*amens*" from the inflamed people.

On the following day the greatest activity prevailed among the priests, in every part of the city and suburbs. All moved like the different parts of a machine, as if by one impulse, and it was not difficult to trace the direction from which that impulse had come. The resolute Patriarch was determined not to trust merely to the impression made upon the people by the anathema, and his accompanying denunciations on the preceding day. He therefore issued orders to his clergy to see that the temporal penalties threatened in that instrument be immediately inflicted to the very letter. One command had been given to all, and the priests went forth simultaneously

* For the Anathema in full, see Appendix A.

to their work,—most of them apparently with good-will, but some reluctantly, their sympathies being with the innocent victims of oppression, rather than with the oppressor. The Armenian heads of all the trade corporations in the city were commanded to withdraw their countenance from all Protestants who would not recant. The keepers of khans and the owners of houses, were ordered to eject all lodgers and tenants who would not comply with this condition. Families were also visited by the priests, wherever any one lived who was suspected of heresy, and it was enjoined upon them to expel the offending member, or separate from it, even though it were a son or daughter, brother or sister, husband or wife. The Protestant brethren were summoned to repair immediately to the Patriarchate in order publicly to recant and become reconciled to the Church. To give force to the whole, the threat was issued that all who refused to aid in carrying out these measures against the "new sectaries," should themselves be anathematized.

A wild spirit of fanaticism now reigned. Before it, all sense of right, all regard to truth and justice, all "bowels of mercies" vanished away. Even the strong and tender affection subsisting between husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, parents and children was, in some instances, exchanged for the cruel and relentless hate of the persecutor. The very constancy of the people of God provoked still more the wrath of their enemies. Their readiness to suffer joyfully the spoiling of their goods was considered as a proof that large temporal rewards had been offered them by the missionaries; and their unwavering fidelity to Christ was interpreted into obstinacy. Some on the side of the Church, who at first

were signally wanting in zeal, in furthering the Patriarch's violent measures, were stimulated into active persecutors, by what appeared to them, in their religious indifferentism, as mere stubbornness on the part of the Protestants.

The leading men in the different trade corporations, showed more resoluteness than any other class, in attempting to force the evangelical brethren to a compliance with the Patriarch's demands; and they could urge motives more potent than almost any other of a worldly nature. Whatever method of coercion was resorted to, whether by priests or people, it was everywhere publicly declared to be by the express command of the Patriarch Matteos.

During the week after the first anathema was read, although many were forcibly driven from their houses, and shops, and prevented from doing business to support themselves and families, and some were expelled from the paternal roof, and otherwise afflicted, yet not one was induced to recant. On the following Sabbath, the passions of an ignorant and superstitious people were still more inflamed by a second anathema, which, like the first, was read in all the churches, and accompanied by the most violent denunciations from the Patriarch, the bishops, and the vartabeds. In this bull it was declared that not only the "cursed nonentity, Vertanes," "falsely called priest," was anathematized by the "holy Church," but likewise "all that were of his sentiments." They were together pronounced to be "accursed, and excommunicated, and anathematized, by God, and by all his saints, and by us," that is, Matteos Patriarch. "Wherefore," he says, "whoever has a son that is such an one, or a

brother, or a partner, (in business) and gives him bread, or assists him in making money, or has intercourse with him as a friend, or does business with him, let such persons know that they are nourishing a venomous serpent in their houses, which will one day injure them with its deadly poison, and they will lose their souls. Such persons give bread to Judas. Such persons are enemies of the Holy faith of Christianity, and destroyers of the holy orthodox Church of the Armenians, and a disgrace to the whole nation. Wherefore, their houses and shops also are accursed ; and whoever goes to visit them, we shall learn, and publish them to the Holy Church, by terrible anathemas."*

The spirit of exasperation now knew no bounds. One after another, the brethren were summoned before the Patriarch, or the local ecclesiastical authorities of their particular quarter of the city, and required to sign a paper of recantation, on penalty of being "terribly anathematized," which involved their being deprived of all business and treated as outlaws. The first paper presented for their signature was, in substance, a confession that under "the wicked enticements of Satan" they had "separated from the spotless bosom of the Holy Church," and joined the "impious sect" of the Protestants ; which now they saw to be "nothing else but an invention of arrogance, a snare of Satan, a sect of confusion, a broad road which leadeth to destruction." Wherefore repenting of their "impious deeds," they fled for pardon "to the bosom of the holy and immaculate Armenian Church," and confessed that "her faith is spotless, her sacraments divine, her rites of apostolic origin, her ritual pious ;" and

* Appendix B.

promised to receive "whatever this same holy Church receiveth, whether it be a matter of faith or ceremony," and "to reject with anathemas," "whatever doctrine she rejects."*

This first paper not being sufficiently explicit to suit some of the persecuting party, another was drawn up in the form of a creed, which all were required to subscribe, as the only condition of being restored to the favor of the Patriarch, that is, to their civil privileges. This creed contained substantially all the errors of Popery. It acknowledged that good works justify a man as well as faith; that the Church is infallible; that there are seven sacraments; that baptism by water, and private confession to a priest are essential to salvation; that the soul of one dying without full penance for his sins, is after death, purified by the prayers of the Church, by the bloodless sacrifice of the mass, and by the alms-giving of his friends; that the bread and wine of communion are the true body and blood of Christ; that Mary is the mother of God, that "the holy anointed" material crosses are worthy of adoration, as also relics and pictures; that the intercession of the saints is acceptable to God; and that the Patriarchs rule the Church as Christ's vicegerents. It also required those who subscribed it to join in anathematizing all who call the worship of the holy cross, and of relics and pictures, idolatry, and who reject the ceremonies of the Church as superstitious.†

These two papers, the first having been commonly called, The Paper of Recantation, and the second, The Patriarch Matteos's New Creed, by whomsoever they have been written, were issued under the high authority of the

* Appendix C. † Appendix D.

Patriarch himself, and sent by him throughout the country for the signature of the Protestants. In Smyrna, in Nicomedia, in Adabazar, in Trebizond, and in Erzrûm, the evangelical brethren were summoned before their respective ecclesiastical rulers, and presented with identically the same creed, which, they were told, had been received from the Patriarch, and which they were required, by his command, to sign.

One individual, a very respectable merchant who was in partnership with his father-in-law, was driven from his shop, and separated also from his wife and children, and defrauded of his property for refusing to yield to these requisitions of the Patriarch. Another, who was in the silk business, was summoned before the Patriarch, who, when he found no signs of repentance, so far forgot himself, as to address this brother with rude and angry profaneness; and, declaring that he and all like minded with him were accursed, he drove him away. The individual returned to his shop, but was soon followed by a beadle from the Patriarch, who summoned his partner before this dignitary. The partner was required forthwith to dissolve all connection with the heretic, which fear led him to do without delay. Since the shop and most of the capital belonged to the partner, our brother was at once reduced to circumstances of the deepest distress. As a still further act of coercion, the Patriarch sent for his father, and enjoined it upon him to drive his own son from home, and deprive him of his inheritance. This command in substance, was afterwards committed to writing, and addressed to a priest, under the Patriarch's own seal, two other sons being now included in it. The following

is a literal translation of the original, which fell into my hands :—

"My beloved Priest.—This Khachadûr, a penitent, has said 'I have sinned,' and promised to confess to you, and to commune in the bosom of our Church. But his three sons, (one of whom was the silk merchant) are impenitent and hardened in iniquity. If they come to the house of their father, he is not to receive them, and he is not to retain them as his heirs; but let them be stripped of their inheritance, if they do not turn from their wickedness. Farewell."

January 18, (*O. S.*) 1846, At the Patriarchate of the Armenians Constantinople.

(Sealed) *Matteos Patriarch.*

Two individuals from the interior, both of whom were quiet and peaceable citizens, and in regular and honest employment, were seized by order of the Patriarch, and handed over to the Turkish police, as criminals, and sent off, against their will, to their distant homes. A passport was given to each by the head of the police, in which it was expressly stated, that the individual bearing it was represented "by a written communication from the Patriarch, as having been going about as a vagabond in Constantinople, and been guilty of improper conduct." The original passports afterwards came into our possession.

Two brothers, who were partners in business, were summoned, first before a council consisting of a vartabed and four priests, and afterwards before the Patriarch

himself, and required to say whether they would yield to the demands of the Church or not. On their answering that they received whatever the Gospel teaches, and rejected all the rest, they were rudely driven away. On the following Sabbath both were anathematized, by name, and all persons were forbidden to trade at their shop. An Armenian, who was a faithful son of the Church, now made an arrangement to purchase from them their whole stock of goods, and carry on the business in the same place; but the Patriarch interdicted this also, declaring that both the shop and goods were under anathema, and whoever should attempt to sell goods there should be anathematized.

A furrier was brought before the heads of his trade, fifteen in number, and told that by the Patriarch's order, they had called him to say, that if he wished to continue his business, he must accompany them to the Patriarchate to confess his sins, and promise hereafter to conform to the rites and rules of the Church. The individual replied that he was not aware that he had committed any offense against the Patriarch, and he knew not what he had to confess. To this they replied, It is reported that you are a Protestant; that is, you do not receive the saints as mediators, nor practice the ceremonies of our Church. *Answer.* I am an Armenian by birth, and a Christian by faith. I receive the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as my guide, and I acknowledge nothing that is contrary to their testimony. Then, said they, you are anathematized, and henceforth we can neither salute you, nor receive your salutation, nor can we have any business transactions with you. And orders were immediately circulated to all the shopkeepers

around, that no one would be permitted to trade with him, since he was under anathema. His priest also prohibited the baker, who was an Armenian, from supplying him with bread, and he was thrown into the greatest distress.

A pious watchmaker was carried to the Patriarchal Church, and there reprimanded by a priest for having "invented a new sect." The watchmaker, asked, if reading the Gospel of Christ was inventing a new sect? The priest said that he did not wish long to continue the conversation, as he was very busy; but, said he, what answer do you give? Will you receive the rites and ceremonies of the Church, confess to the priest, and partake of the communion or not? If not I will report you to the Patriarch. The individual replied that he could not assent to all that the Church taught, and that the priest might do as he liked about reporting him to the Patriarch. A few days afterwards, the watchmaker was summoned before the chief men of his trade, who informed him that a note had come from the Patriarch, saying, that there were Protestants in their trade whom they must look after, and they wished to know if he was one of them. The brother replied that he followed the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as his guide in matters of religion. They answered, It is not necessary that you should talk about that now. What we want to know is, whether you receive the religion taught by the Patriarch, (alluding of course to the new creed) which some are not satisfied with? *Ans.* No. *Quest.* What are you? *Ans.* I am an Armenian. *Quest.* Are you obedient to the Patriarch? *Ans.* Yes, I obey him as a civil ruler, set over us by the Sûltan, to regulate our worldly affairs.

Quest. That is not our meaning. Do you acknowledge him as your religious teacher? *Ans.* No.

Upon this they informed our brother that the Patriarch would no longer be surety for him, and he must procure another surety, or shut up his shop. He soon brought them a good and substantial man as surety, but as he also was one of the evangelical brethren, his suretyship was not received. And as no Armenian who was not a decided evangelical man, dared to offer himself as surety, for fear of the threatened anathema, the poor watchmaker was thrown out of business.

A priest called upon one of the Protestants, and asked him whether it was his purpose to attend the Church services. *Ans.* For what purpose shall I go to the Church, —to worship the pictures? *Priest.* Yes; it is your duty both to worship the pictures and to confess to a priest your sins, and to be obedient to the Patriarch. *Ans.* I am obedient to the Patriarch, but not to his superstitions. *Priest.* I am Christ's vicegerent, and you are bound to confess to me; and as for the worship of pictures, it is written in my Gospel, if not in yours, that they are to be worshipped. *Ans.* Show me your Gospel in which it is thus written.

Instead of complying with this reasonable request, the priest began to curse and swear at the brother, and drove him from his own hired house, at the same time commanding the owner to throw his furniture into the street that very day, if it was not voluntarily removed. His family was also driven out by force, and obliged to seek shelter in the house of a relative.

The above cases are narrated merely as specimens of the method generally pursued at this time, to force the

evangelical brethren to a reconciliation with the Church. Nearly forty individuals, in this way, had their shops closed and their licenses to trade taken away, and were thereby prevented from laboring for an honest livelihood. Nearly seventy were obliged to leave father, mother, brother, sister, husband, wife, or child, for Christ's sake; and were forced by the Patriarch's orders from their own hired houses, and sometimes even from houses owned by themselves. In order to increase their distress, bakers were repeatedly and stringently ordered not to furnish them with bread, and water-carriers, to cut off their supply of water. As multitudes of families in the metropolis depend entirely upon the latter for all the water they use, and the greater part of the water-carriers are notoriously bigoted Armenians, this measure operated with great severity, as may easily be conceived, and it was a trial most difficult to bear.

Many, who were thrown out of business, were compelled to dissolve partnerships, and to bring their accounts to a forced settlement, which involved their entire ruin. And the greatest activity prevailed among the Patriarch's agents, to ascertain where debts were due from any of the anathematized to a faithful son of the Church; and the latter, however reluctant he might be personally to distress his friend, was compelled to urge an immediate settlement. In short, there was displayed the greatest ingenuity in inventing various refined methods of afflicting the people of God, so as if possible to "compel them to blaspheme." Little business was done at the Patriarchate except to conduct the persecution. Priests, clerks of the trading corporations, and keepers of the public khans, were continually arriving with reports of the success or

failure of the various schemes devised for reducing the rebellious Protestants to obedience; and were going away again with fresh instructions. Large numbers of suspected Protestants were carried before the Patriarch, and urged to submit to the Church and sign the creed. Although many boasts were made of the long list of signatures that had been procured, it was still a fact that only four or five of those who were previously known to the missionaries as decidedly evangelical in sentiment, were led to give in their adhesion to the Patriarch; and they almost immediately renounced the forced confession they had made, and, returning to the Protestants, were anathematized with the rest. Several thousands had heard the missionaries preach, or from curiosity had visited them, once or twice perhaps, who never had the least connection with them, or the evangelical brethren. It was well ascertained that the names of many of these were affixed to the paper of recantation and the creed; and thus a somewhat plausible pretext was furnished for boasting, though without just ground.

At one time, the Patriarch called before him several of the leading men among the Protestants, and endeavored to win them by soft words, and reason them into obedience to the Church. When he found that they could outreason him, he said rather petulantly, "What is the use of your talking? I only called you to sign this paper. If you cannot do it you may go, and the next Sabbath you will all be anathematized." One of the number, however, he retained for a more private conversation. This was Mr Apisoghom Khachadûrian. After all the attendants present had been removed, the Patriarch, with a great show of kindness and interest, entreated our brother to yield to

the demands of the Church, for the sake of peace. "Let me know," said he, "how much you receive as a salary from those men (meaning us), and I will pledge myself to secure more for you, if you will only come over to our side." Ap. Khachadûrian begged the Patriarch not to pain his feelings again by addressing to him any such motives, which, in a matter of such deep and solemn moment, were worthy of no consideration.

The Patriarch then said: "If you will only come back to us, you may retain your own private opinions and nobody shall molest you; only you must remain silent and not speak of your sentiments to others. Why should you preach? you are no priest."

K. I cannot return on any such conditions. It is every man's duty to speak so far as he understands the Gospel, and try to enlighten his neighbors in things pertaining to salvation.

Patriarch. But, if the evangelical men are permitted to remain quietly in the Church on such conditions, the time is not distant when they will make the whole Church evangelical.

K. And what if they should? Would it be a calamity to our people to receive the Word of God as a body, and endeavor to follow it? You well know that this is the way of the truth. You know that you yourself confessed this to me some years ago. The course you are now pursuing will be destructive to our nation. I well understand your motive. You have been charged with being a Protestant, and you are seeking to wipe this blot from your name; but have you not already done enough? Surely everybody must be convinced by this time that you are an Armenian and no Protestant. Desist, I beseech

you, from this work in which you are engaged; for your own sake, I beseech you desist: otherwise it may result in something very bad for you.

Patriarch. Why? what will they (meaning the missionaries) do unto me?

K. They will do nothing to you, but your own nation will, if you go on in this way.

This conversation continued for some time, and the Patriarch's conscience seemed, for the moment, to be touched by our brother's faithful and earnest appeals, and he looked very sober and thoughtful. He requested Mr. Khachadûrian to call again after two days, which he accordingly did, but was not received. A vartabed was sent to say, that if he continued of the same mind as before, the Patriarch did not wish to see him; and on the following Sabbath he was publicly anathematized in all the churches.

Nothing could be more evident than that the suffering brethren had special grace given them from above, to enable them to bear as they did these severe trials. Driven from their houses and shops, their families and friends, and having no certain dwelling-place; and many of them reduced to penury; subject to constant insult in the streets, and sometimes to personal injury; and having every reason to apprehend persecution in still more violent forms, they yet exhibited a calm and quiet spirit of endurance, a readiness to suffer the loss of all for Christ, and a peace and joy in the midst of their sufferings, which could be accounted for only on the supposition, that God was with them in very deed. One, who in fact spoke the feelings of many, said one day to a missionary: "My daily prayer to God is, that even if there should not be

left a single person except myself to witness for the truth, He would still give me faith to stand firm for the doctrine of salvation by grace in Christ alone. I know that all the resistance we now make to error, we are making for coming generations. We may never reap the fruits ourselves, but our exercise of firmness and faith now, will enable thousands, and perhaps millions, in after days to enjoy the rights of conscience in pure and holy worship." There was satisfactory evidence that this dear brother was in the habit of spending many hours daily in prayer for himself and his brethren, as well as for the whole Armenian community.

Another brother, to whom an offer of upwards of twenty thousand piastres (about one thousand dollars) was made by a rich friend, on condition that he would conform to the Church, replied: "If you knew anything of the value of the Gospel, or the preciousness of faith in Christ, you would not have thought to influence me either by a thousand, or a hundred thousand dollars."

Many of whom we had known but little, were led by the violent measures of the ecclesiastical powers to take a decided stand for the truth; and in the midst of the most violent ragings of the enemy, our houses and our room in the Khan* were more than ever thronged with visitors, and our preaching services were not only not diminished in numbers, but new hearers were found present every Sabbath.

Soon after the first anathema, the persecuted brethren addressed a letter to the Patriarch, explaining their religious sentiments, and asking that whatever error was

* This was a place in the heart of the city, kept for the reception of visitors.

found therein might be specifically pointed out, and at the same time humbly entreating him to deliver them from the persecutions they were suffering. After declaring their faith in the Trinity, and in Christ as the only Saviour of the world, High Priest, Mediator, Intercessor, and Head of his Church, and their reception of the Holy Scriptures as the perfect rule of faith and practice, they added, "How can we receive those requirements which are contrary to the rule of the Holy Scriptures, and are expressly forbidden with anathema? And for our not receiving things not taught in the Bible, will you call us obstinate and rebellious, enemies of our nation and destroyers of our Church? We have no such design, but can use the language of Paul to the Romans (Rom. ix. 3). We love our nation to such a degree, that we glory in being called Armenians. We are Armenians by nation, Christians by faith, and obedient subjects of the Ottoman Government. Nevertheless, if in religious matters we be in error (for we do not claim to be infallible), we will gladly receive it, if you will point out to us our error. You well know that the conviction of the human mind is effected only by the presentation of truth, not by the exercise of force; and, in the fear of God, we can do nothing against our consciences."

This letter failing to produce any effect, they subsequently addressed one to the primates of the Armenian community. No one, however, appeared disposed to advocate their cause; and their letter being treated by some with cold indifference, and by others with marked contempt, and their temporal afflictions increasing from day to day, they at length presented a petition for relief to Reshid Pasha, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs. This

paper contained a clear and dignified statement of their grievances; all of which were justly ascribed to the agency of the Patriarch, who, they said, not satisfied with simply excommunicating and anathematizing them, "ordered all his flock, and the chiefs of the trades, and of the different quarters of the city, and also the priests, under penalty of excommunication and anathemas, to oppress and injure them in various ways." And, in the end, they begged that His Excellency would "order the Patriarch to withdraw his oppressive hand." This petition was treated with respect; but, owing to the influence of some of the Armenian primates, it procured no relief. Subsequently, a letter was addressed by the persecuted brethren to the English, Prussian, and American Ministers, asking for the influence of these high public functionaries to procure their release from present suffering, and the guarantee of their civil rights. The kindest interest was taken in their case by the liberal-minded and humane gentlemen who occupied these posts, and repeated efforts were made to procure for them exemption from suffering; but the persecution still went on. Three watchmakers were cast into prison by the Turkish superintendent of trades, at the instigation of the Patriarch's party, on the plea that they were without licenses to trade, and without sureties. Another individual was thrown into the jail without even so faint a pretext as this. They were kept in confinement some weeks, although every effort was made for their release. When the head men of the trade were inquired of by officers from the Porte, as to the reasons for the confinement of these individuals, the reply was that it had no connection with business, but was an affair of the Patriarch. When the Patriarch was questioned on the subject,

he declared that he had nothing to do with it, but that it was altogether an affair of the trade! Nobody was willing to assume the paternity of the measure, and yet the prisoners were not released. And, in the meantime, they were incessantly urged to submit to the Patriarch, and assured that if they would subscribe to his creed, they should be immediately set at liberty.

There was evidently a connivance of some of the Turkish authorities in this thing, and the Patriarch was so much encouraged by his success, thus far, that he sent to the Porte the names of thirteen leading men among the Protestants, requesting their banishment.* The reply of the Porte was fatal to his plans. The substance of it was, that having adopted the principle of freedom of conscience, they could not banish men for imputed religious errors. The fact was, the English ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, had already been urging upon the attention of the Turkish ministry, the pledge given three years before by the Sûltan, that *henceforth there should be no more persecution for religious opinion in Turkey;* and, in accordance with the true spirit of this pledge, it was now decided that the persecution of the evangelical Armenians could not be allowed. The humane endeavors of the American chargé, Mr. Brown, and subsequently of the American minister, Mr. Carr, and also of the Prussian minister, Mr. Le Coq, contributed essentially to bring about this happy issue. A petition from

* This fact was stated at the time, in a French paper printed in Constantinople, called the Moniteur Ottoman, in which are officially published the doings of the government. This paper is, in fact, partly supported by the Turkish government, to secure it as an official organ, and everything that appears in it is carefully revised by a censor appointed by the government for that purpose.

the suffering brethren, directly to the Sûltan himself, no doubt, had its share of influence. By the agency of Sir Stratford, Reshid Pasha, summoned before him the Patriarch, and charged him to desist from his persecuting course. The same high authority also ordered the immediate release of the four prisoners. They were permitted to become sureties for one another, a method of getting over the alledged legal difficulties, which had again and again been proposed by the brethren themselves, but in vain.

The persecution began the last week in January, and it was now past the middle of March, and during the whole of this interval, the Protestants had struggled in vain, until this moment, to procure their civil and social rights. As regularly as the Sabbath came round, the Armenian churches, in and around the capital, rung with anathemas against all the followers of the "new sect." None were more violent in their public addresses than the Patriarch himself, who seemed determined that the excited passions of an uninformed and bigoted populace against the so called "infidels" and "atheists," should not subside, so long as he could find fuel to feed the flame. The most foolish calumnies, in regard to the religious views and practices of the Protestants, were uttered from all the pulpits, and even published in books under the Patriarchal sanction. In one of the latter, having the *imprimatur* of the Patriarch upon the title page, it was coolly asserted of the whole Protestant Church, that it formally approves of polygamy, adultery, and theft, and sanctions rebellion against the civil powers! With such examples, and such untiring effort on the part of their spiritual leaders, in the use of means like

these, to stimulate the fanatical feelings of the people, it was not strange that our brethren could not pass through the streets without being abused by the most filthy language, and even spit upon and stoned.

The fact that a large number were early forced to leave their houses, has already more than once been alluded to. In one instance, two or three families were driven into the streets at midnight, for no other crime than that they refused to assent to the Patriarch's symbol of faith. This, however, was not the ostensible reason held forth to the Turkish authorities. These families were living together under one roof, and the charge of keeping a disorderly and infamous house was brought against them, and easily substantiated by false witnesses, any number of whom can always be hired in Turkey. In other similar cases, the owner of the house was put forward as the active mover in the matter, although he was often the unwilling instrument of some ecclesiastical oppressor. Great care was taken, particularly after it was known that the foreign ambassadors were keeping an eye on all these proceedings, not to exceed, if possible, the bounds of the law; so that when even as many as three score and ten men, women, and children, who had refused to bow the knee in idolatry, had been sent to wander houseless in the streets, it was still declared that there was no persecution!

To us, however, it was known that, for the faith of Christ, they were driven out, and for the love of Christ we could not refuse to take them in. Their miseries seemed to appeal through us to our more favored brethren of other lands, and remembering that all true believers are one in Christ Jesus, and that whatever is done to

relieve even the least of his disciples, is reckoned as having been done for him, we could not hesitate as to our duty. Very providentially, the Rev. Mr. Allan, missionary to the Jews, from the free Church of Scotland, had, a short time previously, secured a large house, with reference to a preaching place, as well as a dwelling for his family; and, with true Christian sympathy and generosity, he opened his doors for the oppressed. Twenty individuals of the persecuted, found a very comfortable lodging-place there. For the rest, we hired such tenements as could be found, at the same time providing the starving with bread, while they were cut off from all means of procuring their own subsistence. A statement was drawn up of the grievous things that had befallen our brethren in Turkey, accompanied by an appeal to evangelical Christians throughout the world for sympathy and aid; and the generous contributions that flowed in from all quarters of the globe, wherever the story had gone, and pious hearts were found, showed how strong a bond of union is the love of Christ. Letters of the tenderest Christian sympathy were received, accompanied by donations for the sufferers, from every Protestant country in Europe, from England, Malta, and India, as well as from our own native land; and in this spontaneous movement in behalf of the persecuted people of God, denominational distinctions were forgotten. Nearly or quite five hundred dollars were contributed by foreign Protestant residents upon the ground, who naturally felt the more deeply, because they were personal spectators of the sufferings they were called upon to relieve.

Nor can I close the present chapter without alluding to another instance in which God signally brought good out

of evil. In Constantinople, the evangelical brethren lived at great distances apart, being scattered over an area of eight or ten miles in diameter, so that they could rarely, if ever, come together; and the consequence was, that but few were well acquainted with each other. We had long felt this to be an evil, but knew not how to remedy it. Being driven from their homes by the persecution, they lived for many weeks in the places of shelter provided for them by the hand of charity, and these were almost in one neighborhood. The same cause had also excluded them from business; so that they had abundance of time, as they had of opportunity, to cultivate each other's acquaintance. Often did they come together for prayer and praise; indeed, most of their time was spent in this way, so that the period of their exclusion from their homes, was like a protracted meeting, extending through several weeks; the effects of which were seen at once, in the deeper interest felt for one another, and the strong bond of union that was formed; and the fruits of it remain to this day.

CHAPTER X.

Duplicity of the Patriarch—Encouraged by Bishop Southgate—The Evangelical Brethren calumniated—The Patriarch defended—Violence in Nicomedia—God hearing the Cries of the Oppressed—Priest Harûtun in Persecution—His Letter to the Bishop—Shameful Treatment in Church—His Imprisonment—Accumulation of Indignities—His Joy in God—Mournful Fall of other Brethren—Their Return—Steadfastness of Believers in Adabazar—Mr. Van Lennep's Visit—The Enemy stimulated afresh—Grievous Trials—Prevailing Spirit of Persecution—Outrages upon Two Brothers in Trebizond—Faithful Endurance—Young Man scourged and imprisoned—Intervention of British Consul—Bishop of Erzrûm banished—Bodily Inflictions—The Persecutors checked—All Eyes turned to the Capital—Sir Stratford Canning—Religious Liberty for the Protestants—The Patriarch's Cunning—First Imperial Document in Behalf of Protestants—Hostility a Blessing to the Seminary—Removal to Constantinople of Mr. and Mrs. Everett—Standing and perpetual Curse—Plan of Church Organization—An Evangelical Church constituted—Ordination of first Pastor—His Character—Public Declaration of the Protestants—Churches formed in Nicomedia, Adabazar, and Trebizond—Mohammedans befriend the Persecuted.

The Patriarch had now received such lessons from high quarters, as greatly to modify his expectations of putting down Protestantism by force; and he was even compelled reluctantly, to issue public orders to his clergy, in certain cases, against persecution; though it is known that secret instructions were, at the same time given of a contrary nature.

And here it becomes necessary briefly to refer to other influences that were at work, which essentially aided and encouraged this high dignitary in his schemes. Very early in the persecution, the Rt. Rev. Horatio Southgate, Missionary Bishop of the American Episcopal Church, to the Ottoman Empire and its dependencies, appeared before the public as a sympathizer with the Patriarch. During all the consultations at the Patriarchate, in this exciting period, he claims to have been a privileged counselor "behind the scenes." What counsel he gave in one instance, he himself has informed the world. It was before any public steps had been taken, that the Patriarch sought from him advice in the case of Priest Vertanes, who was accused of heresy, and of having been laboring for some years to divide the Armenian Church. What should be done with such a character? Bishop Southgate says, that he "recommended moderate and gentle measures *as long as practicable*."* And after the bull of excision came out against this godly Christian priest, the bishop says, "he did not doubt the sentence was just."† What was the nature and bearing of his counsel in other cases, can only be known inferentially from his own declarations. He has not hesitated, however, to avow publicly, that all his sympathies were on the Patriarch's side, and against the anathematized; nor to use his influence to prevent, if possible, Christians in England and America from having a fellow-feeling for their suffering brethren in Turkey, so as to send them relief. The spirit of inquiry which has so characterized the Armenian Church, he ascribed chiefly to "the influx of European

* Christian Witness and Church Advocate, May 15, 1846. † Ibid.

knowledge, and the revolutionary sentiments of European rationalism,"* and to the works of Volney and Voltaire; and with such views of the origin of this "new sect," it was not strange, that when the distress that came upon them by the persecuting acts of the Patriarch, were first made known to the world, he should testify, over his own signature, that they were, in general, only "infidels and radicals,"† who deserved no sympathy from the Christian public.

Of the Patriarch he declares, that "he is a man of mild and conciliatory disposition;" "has exercised exemplary patience with them all;"‡ "has imposed no conditions that involve the sanction of existing corruptions;" "has granted all that the most scrupulous conscience could rightly demand;" "has not gone beyond the proper limits of ecclesiastical discipline;§ that all statements against him are, "without exception, gross fabrications," and that "a more unjust assault upon a Christian Patriarch he hoped never to witness."‖

Bishop S. further said, that he "never met with an instance of more unjustifiable separation from a Church than were the secessions which led to the act of excommunication," and that "it would be far better if all the seceders would return to the quiet performance of religious duty, in the Church in which they were baptized;" and he hopes they will be all brought back."¶

How much of countenance and support a man in his position, entertaining such views and feelings, gave to the

* Christian Witness and Church Advocate, May 8, 1850.

† Church and State Gazette (English), March, 1846.

‡ Christian Witness and Church Advocate, May 15, 1846.

§ Ibid., May 15, 1846. ‖ Ibid., June 26, 1846. ¶ Ibid., June 26, 1846.

Patriarch, in his efforts to crush the people of God in Turkey, the judgment day alone will disclose. The author of this narrative feels that his duty is discharged, by thus transcribing in this place, the record made of Bishop Southgate's sentiments and acts, by his own hand, in the public journals of his Church.

Printed copies of the Patriarch's two anathemas were sent to every part of Turkey, to be read in all the churches. In Nicomedia, the reign of violence very soon commenced. A young mechanic, who was prominent among the Protestants, and who once, under the pressure of persecution, had gone back to the idolatrous ceremonies of the Church, but soon after repented of his deed, was selected as the first victim. He was publicly excommunicated by name, and driven by force from his shop, and also from his family. Some advised to exile him; but the bishop fearing to take the responsibility of this step, sent him, under guard, to the Patriarch at Constantinople. The man who had charge of him was required to carry him back again, the Patriarch merely saying, "Tell the bishop that I have heaped upon him one excommunication more." He was now ordered by the Armenian authorities to leave the town, as being unfit to live in any other way than as a vagabond. For several weeks he found shelter in the Turkish coffee houses, the Mussulmans treating him with a kindness which he could nowhere find among his own kindred and people. One day he ventured to go to his father's house to see his wife and children, and for this crime alone, he received fifteen blows, with a stick, on his bare feet, by order of the chief primate of the town. This man had wealth and influence, and could inflict such cruelties without

fearing to be called to an account by any of his fellows. But the cries of the oppressed and persecuted go up to the ears of the great King of kings, who knows how to vindicate his people, and take vengeance on their oppressors. Not many months afterwards, this same rich man was thrown from a horse, and he received a fracture of the skull, which soon terminated his life. Subsequently, his splendid mansion was consumed by fire, and a large amount of property destroyed.

Priest Harûtun was the next who was called to pass the fiery ordeal of persecution. He was one of the two priests with whom the work of spiritual regeneration began in Nicomedia. He was an extremely modest and timid man, and for some time had been living in open conformity with the rites of his church, though secretly he was as true a friend of the Gospel as ever. In this he had struggled against his own convictions, as well as the advice and entreaties of his brethren; but, although he freely acknowledged that he was doing wrong, yet it was not so easy for him to make up his mind to do right. God had reserved persecution as a means of bringing him to this decision.

The Bishop of Nicomedia, who was none other than the mild and inoffensive ex-patriarch Stepan—now transformed into a furious persecutor—required the priest to write a confession of his faith to be read publicly in the church, in order to satisfy the people—many of whom were suspicious of him—that he was a true and faithful son of the Armenian Church. With this requisition the priest complied, though the document was far from giving satisfaction to his superior. He expressed, in clear and comprehensive language, his belief in the Bible and its doctrines

and appended to this confession of his faith a letter to the bishop, couched in the most respectful terms, declaring that whatever the Church receives and teaches that is according to the Holy Scriptures, he also received, but, in the fear of God, he could acknowledge nothing contrary to this standard. And he closed by saying, "In regard to your Reverence's wish that I would write a paper of recantation according to your pleasure, God forbid that I should write anything through fear of others, or to secure their favor. If I had done so I should have been a denier of the true faith, and an infidel; an enemy, a despiser, a decayed member of the holy Church of Christ, which he hath purchased with his own blood. But, blessed be God, by confessing and believing in the true faith, and by preaching the holy Gospel, I remain a faithful son and a true minister of the Church of Christ; and I have hope that, through the Holy Spirit, I shall remain faithful even unto death, and that I shall enjoy through eternity the promised rest. And finally, whatever violence, punishment, or disgrace are prepared for me, I am ready to receive with love and joy, for the love and glory of God."

This document filled his enemies with rage. On the following Sabbath this brother was taken to the Church, where the bishop publicly read his Confession, and immediately pronounced him excommunicated and accursed. The priests violently tore from his shoulders his clerical robes, and with boisterous shouts cried, "Drive out the accursed one from the Church." The excited rabble now fell upon him, and with many kicks and blows thrust him into the street. He received all these indignities with the greatest meekness, and returned to his house, "counting

it all joy that he was found worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus."

This, however, is not the end of the story. The bishop afterwards sent a paper of recantation (which was an abbreviation of the Patriarch's first paper, slightly altered) for priest Harûtun to sign, on refusing which, by an easy artifice, he was thrown into prison. It was ascertained that he owed several small sums of money to different individuals. These debts were all bought up by the leading primate of the place, whose subsequent sudden death has already been alluded to, and immediate payment was required for all. Being unable to meet the demand, as was well known beforehand, he was put in confinement, *according to law*. After lying in prison thirteen days, he was conducted by a soldier to the bishop's palace, where the Patriarch's creed was offered to him for signature. When it was found, after much urging, that he would by no means comply with this condition, he was told that, by the Patriarch's order, his beard must be cut off. Among the people of the East, no greater indignity can be put upon a man, and especially upon a priest. Nevertheless he replied, "For the wonderful name of Christ I am ready, God helping me, to submit to this, and even to shed my blood, if that shall be the will of the Lord." A barber was called in, and not only his beard, but every particle of hair from his head was shaved off; so that, as the priest expressed it, "not a single hair was left, from his neck to the crown of his head." They cast his clerical cap, which they had torn, into a filthy corner of the street, together with the hair. The boys now fastened the beard to the end of a long pole, upon which they also placed the disfigured and tattered fragments of the cap, and paraded

it through all the wards of the city, shouting, "Heads out! behold the cap of the accursed Harûtun," &c. He was afterwards sent back to prison with the soldier. On leaving the gate of the bishop's palace, he found an immense mob of men, women, and children assembled for the purpose of mocking and insulting him as he passed along. He was not permitted to take the direct way to the prison, but they conducted him by a circuitous route, apparently for the purpose of prolonging his sufferings, the mob continually following him, spitting at him, and insulting him with the most opprobrious and filthy language. He wrote soon after to a brother, "I entered the prison with a joyful heart, committing myself to God, and giving glory to him that he had enabled me to pass through fire and sword, and had brought me to a place of repose."

The Turkish commander of the prison, evidently moved by pity in view of what had happened to this unoffending man, immediately released him. To avoid the rabble, who were still gathered in small companies in different parts of the public streets, he passed through a Turkish burying-ground, and reached his own house unobserved. It was the Sabbath-day, and he says, "Being delivered from the hands of reckless men, I fell down on my face, about the eighth hour, with my wife alone, and gave glory to God that he had counted me worthy of such honor; which formerly I avoided, but now, by his grace, he has made me cheerfully to receive, though I am altogether unworthy. He has kept me for such a day."

Thus was this timid brother enabled to maintain his integrity, "through floods and flames;" and as the cup that was given him to drink increased in bitterness, the more joyfully did he receive it, and the more firmly fixed

was the purpose of his soul never to deny Christ, at any rate. His own spotless reputation, and the meekness with which he bore his sufferings, procured for him many friends even among the Mohammedans themselves.

The other evangelical brethren of Nicomedia were summoned in a body before the bishop, and although up to that hour they had remained firm to their principles, and seemed ready to endure all things for Christ, so greatly were their fears excited by the threatening aspect of affairs, that all but four signed the paper of recantation! Some of these, however, fearlessly declared to the bishop at the time, that they should continue to read the Gospel, and come together for prayer; and he, on the other hand, blinded their minds by assuring them that he merely wanted their signatures as a matter of form, and that they should be left at perfect liberty to believe and act as they pleased. They lost all peace of mind from that moment, and never was it restored until they had abjured their recantation, humbly confessed their sin to God, and publicly declared their determination to abide by the doctrines of the Gospel, even unto death. They were all soon excommunicated.

In Adabazar the trials of the brethren were not less severe. Some were driven from their shops, and others from their houses. Great effort was made by the ecclesiastics to induce them to sign the Patriarch's paper, and three, overcome by their fears, yielded. The rest were strongly bound together, and fully resolved not to deny Christ, even though life itself should be sacrificed. No missionary was stationed there, and no sympathizing foreigner, as in Nicomedia. Living like sheep in the midst of wolves, they were thrown for protection upon

God alone; but they were resolute and happy. Such strict watch was kept over them, that it was exceedingly difficult to maintain correspondence with Nicomedia and Constantinople. In some instances their letters were intercepted, and, after being perused, were destroyed; and consequently they felt obliged to be very cautious. A friendly Jew, who was in the habit of visiting Nicomedia on business, became the bearer of their dispatches. These were, in general, short but expressive messages, written, for greater safety, in the Turkish language, with the Hebrew character. One of them will suffice as a specimen, "There is death, but no turning back. We are twenty."

During the latter part of March, 1846, Mr. Van Lennep visited both Nicomedia and Adabazar. It was chiefly through his influence, in fact, that those in the former place who had denied Christ were induced to return. At Adabazar his presence seemed to stimulate the enemy to fresh persecution. Four of the brethren were seized for debt and thrown into prison. All business in the bazars was suspended, and crowds were gathered here and there talking about the missionary who had come to visit the heretics. Whenever a Protestant passed, he was assailed with hootings and curses. Mr. Van Lennep determined to leave at once, lest he should be the unwilling instrument of bringing upon the suffering brethren still greater outrages, although one of them had said to him, "Let them persecute us the more for your being here; we care not for it so long as we can enjoy the comfort of seeing and hearing you." Several hours before he started, a crowd of some hundred persons had collected before the coffee-shop where he was lodged. As he rode off, he heard after him laughs of derision, mingled with insults and

curses. It was hard to leave the beloved brethren exposed to the tender mercies of so excited a populace; and yet nothing could be done for them but to commend them to the sympathizing Saviour, for whose sake they were suffering such things. While, however, their persecutors were agitated with fierce passions, they were calm and joyful—the only truly happy men in the whole community.

Some fresh outrage was committed on them almost every day. One brother, who was found alone just out of the town, was beaten with a large stick, and left half dead upon the ground. Another, who had just opened a shop, had his goods tumbled into the street, his shop locked, and the key taken from him by the police. Another was imprisoned for a pretended debt which he never owed. Neither in the streets nor yet in their own houses, were they exempt from stoning. One day the chief primate of the Armenians, heading a band of about fifty desperate fellows, broke into the house of an inoffensive brother, cast him violently into the street, and there beat him unmercifully, and afterwards put him in confinement. The next day nearly the whole Armenian population of the town came together, armed with clubs and stones, and attacked successively the houses of three of the leading brethren; breaking fences, doors, windows, window frames, shutters, and furniture; cutting down fruit-trees and rose-bushes; destroying poultry, &c., &c. They were accompanied by two vartabeds, who were continually exciting and encouraging them in their fiendish work. It is impossible to tell to what lengths they might have gone, had not the Turkish governor and judge of the place come upon the ground, and put an end to these violent proceedings.

In every part of the Armenian field the spirit of persecution now prevailed, and almost precisely the same methods of coercion were pursued in each place. Everywhere identically the same creed was offered to the brethren to sign; and a refusal to comply was followed by excommunication and anathema, with many and grievous temporal inflictions. An important part of the system of the Patriarch, which was very generally carried out with great perseverance and faithfulness, was that of issuing violent addresses from the pulpit, full of abusive calumnies, in order to keep the passions of the people constantly inflamed against the Protestants. There was a universal call upon the faithful sons of the Church to separate from all followers of the "new sect," even though the tenderest ties of relationship might thus be severed; and, in the provinces, the bishops and vartabeds did not hesitate to exhort their flocks openly to treat the Protestants with every kind of indignity and abuse.

In Trebizond, after two men were anathematized, who, with their families, were living in the house of their own father, the new vartabed, whose name was Garabed, required their wives to separate from them, and the father to turn them out of doors. The father and mother had both been distinguished for their violent opposition to the Gospel; and the former called two police officers, and with good-will put the command of the vartabed into execution. Remonstrance was in vain, although three-fourths of the ownership of the house belonged to the two sons. All their books were now collected, consisting of the Scriptures, tracts, and periodicals, and were torn into a thousand pieces, and strewed along the street. Their shop was also forcibly broken open, and all books found there

taken possession of, together with papers; such as accounts, contracts, &c. One of the two brothers went to the police office to make complaint, but a crowd of opposers gathered around, and clamorously insisted that he should be imprisoned, which was accordingly done! Thus the innocent was punished, and the guilty permitted to go free.

Several of the friends of the truth were terrified into a compliance with the vartabed's demands. Nor was this strange, considering the trying circumstances of their case. Many of them were poor and in debt, having families to support, and no friends to look to for aid. They were entirely cut off from employment so long as they refused to submit to the Church, and were subject to every abuse. No civil court would do them justice; and their enemies, who were all-powerful, were continually fabricating falsehoods and procuring legal decisions against them, by suborning false witnesses; and there was no redress. Under such a pressure of trials, it required no common measure of faith to adhere steadfastly to the truth. Some did endure nobly to the end; and those who yielded were, for the most part, soon brought back again to their faithfulness, like the disciples of our Lord, who, at the awful hour of his betrayal, "all forsook him and fled."

The hardest trial of all to bear was the cruel bastinado, which the vartabed at length resorted to, seeing that other means failed. A young man was called into the presence of this church dignitary, and required to sign the Patriarch's creed. Refusing to comply, he was placed upon the floor and beaten with sticks on the soles of his feet, the vartabed assisting with his own hands in inflicting this cruelty. He was then removed to an unfloored stable;

his hands were tied behind him by the two thumbs, and a rope was passed around his shoulders and fastened to a beam over his head, so that he was obliged to stand perfectly upright. Water was now poured plentifully on the cold ground on which his bare feet rested, and in this torturing condition he was obliged to remain all night. Strict orders were issued that no one should give him food. Here he was kept for nearly two days, though not always in the same position, and being repeatedly importuned, with the most terrific threatenings of what he should still suffer if he persisted in his refusal, he was at length induced to yield. Afterwards two others were scourged in like manner, and others still were imprisoned; until, at length, through the kind intervention of the British Consul, Mr. Stevens, the Pasha prevented, for the time, further outrages of this sort.

It was evident that the vartabed had now gone too far. The bastinado opened many eyes, and confirmed many minds in the truth. The brethren became more humble and decided; and several who hitherto stood aloof, though at heart friendly, now began to attend the public services of the missionaries. Thus did God cause "the wrath of man to praise him."

At Erzrûm still more revolting scenes were witnessed than at Trebizond. It is a remarkable fact, however, that up to nearly the middle of March, the Protestants in that place were permitted to live in peace; and this although Eprem, whose activity as a persecutor has already been sufficiently shown, still occupied the episcopal chair. The fact was, that between him and the Patriarch there was far from being a cordial state of feeling, and this, probably, was the true secret of his slowness in executing the orders

of his superior. The Patriarch soon found means to banish him into the interior, and immediately after the work of persecution commenced in Erzrûm in fearful earnest. The principal instruments were the vartabed, who was acting as bishop, and some of the primates. The man who was first called to suffer was a bold and active young convert. He was summoned before a council at the vartabed's residence, and interrogated as to his faith in Christ. His answers were unanswerable; and he declared that nothing would ever induce him to subscribe the new creed. The only resort that seemed left for them was persecution. He was placed upon the floor, and several sticks were broken up upon his feet by different individuals of the company, who relieved one another. Not satisfied with this cruelty, some of the priests kicked him, and smote him on the face till the blood gushed from his nose and mouth. He was then confined in chains in a cold prison, no water being allowed him even to wash the blood from his face. He was taken to the Church on the following Sabbath, where, in the presence of the congregation, he was excommunicated, and curses were heaped upon him without number. As he left the Church the people buffeted him, spit upon him, and some even declared themselves ready to kill him.

Others were excommunicated by name on the same day, and three or four were carried before the vartabed and threatened: and one of them was confined over night: but as all these steps were immediately reported to the Pasha, as well as to the British Consul, and by him to his Ambassador, the persecutors thought it prudent to proceed no further for the present.

Essentially the same methods were used at Brûsa and

Smyrna to compel the disciples of Christ to deny him, and with essentially the same results. From all parts of the country both the persecutors and their innocent victims were anxiously looking to Constantinople, as everything in regard to the continuance or cessation of these acts of coercion and oppression must be decided there. Let us then return and see what things were transpiring at the capital.

Sir Stratford Canning, whose noble efforts for religious liberty in Turkey are worthy of all praise, did not cease to urge upon the Turkish government the necessity of securing to its Protestant subjects the right of pursuing their lawful callings without molestation. Between thirty and forty in Constantinople alone, were still excluded from their shops and their business, on the plea that they were without sureties. The Ambassador represented that the demands of the law might be met, by their becoming sureties for one another. This important concession was at length made by the government, and Reshid Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, or Grand Vizer, as he soon after became, gave orders that the Protestants be permitted to resume their business on this condition. This decision, which, with a limited application, had already released the imprisoned watchmakers, being now made general, virtually settled the question of religious liberty for the Protestants in Turkey. The immediate relief afforded was important, though far from being entire. The brethren were still tried in various ways. Many, from the very circumstances of the case, could never again regain the situations from which they had been thrust. Others were still subject to secret persecution, which was the harder to bear, because it could not easily be traced to its

proper source, and brought in a tangible form under the cognizance of the civil courts. The Patriarch, seeing which way the current was turning, very adroitly attempted to set himself forth before the world as a friend of religious liberty, and a sympathizer with the suffering; although, at the same time, he was repeating his anathemas in his own church every Sabbath-day, and exciting the people, by his appeals to their fanaticism, as before. This kept alive the spirit of persecution, and various arts were practiced, often successfully, to prevent the brethren who had opened their shops, from doing any business. Water-carriers also, still refused, in many instances, to supply Protestant families with water, and bakers with bread. Numberless other vexations were practiced from time to time, and there was often a great want of promptness in the Turkish courts in relieving the innocent sufferers of their oppressions, even when they had tangible ground of complaint. These irregularities, however, were to be expected in such a country, and under such circumstances. There was still satisfactory proof that the Turkish government was disposed to be sincere and consistent in its declarations in favor of religious liberty. A vizirial letter, dated early in June, 1846, commanding the Pasha of Erzrûm, to see that the civil rights of the Protestants were not infringed, so long as they were faithful subjects of the Sûltan, is worthy of mention, as the first imperial document ever issued by the Turkish government, for the protection of its Protestant subjects.

In the course of the persecutions that have now been described, the Patriarch was incessant in his efforts to break up the Mission Seminary at Bebek. He succeeded at different times, in getting away seventeen, in all, out

of twenty-seven students; but five of these soon returned, and ten others joined the institution, several of whom were pious and promising young men, who having been driven by persecution from their business, were led to consecrate themselves to the service of God in the ministry, and to seek from the Mission Seminary the intellectual and moral discipline they needed for this work. Thus it may be said with truth, that "the fury of the oppressor" made this seminary what it was not before, except in the wishes and intentions of its founders—a proper theological school, in which many of the future pastors of the Evangelical Churches in Turkey, as well as many missionaries of the cross, were to receive their training.

Mr. and Mrs. Everett, who had been connected with the Smyrna station since April, 1845, removed to Constantinople in the summer of 1846, and Mrs. Everett was associated with Miss Lovell in the instruction of the Female Seminary.[1]

[1] For nearly six months continuously, the anathema had been publicly repeated every Sabbath in the Patriarchal Church, as well as in other churches, until many of the people began to grow weary of the sound; and the changes were so frequently rung on the various forms of denunciation, which had been contrived to give force to the bull, that their efficiency seemed rapidly wasting away. And yet, up to the middle of the year 1846, through the influence of the Church authorities, bread and water were still withheld from many Protestant families, by the regular dealers in those articles, and everything was done, that could with safety be attempted, to vex those who remained steadfast in the truth. The sufferers had

again and again petitioned to their Patriarch, and to the primates for relief, but they were uniformly repulsed with the declaration that there was no hope of any amelioration of their condition, except by unconditional submission to the Church. Hitherto, no one had voluntarily separated himself from the Armenian community. Those who were called schismatics, had become such by the exscinding act of the Patriarch himself, who was the sole author of the schism, and who seemed to try every method in his power to render the separation perpetual.

On the 21st of June, 1846, he gave the last finishing blow to this work, by a public official act, which resulted, through necessity, in the organization of Evangelical Protestant Churches in Turkey. On that day, it being the day of a solemn festival for the Church, he issued a new bull of excommunication and anathema against all who remained firm to their evangelical principles, decreeing that it should be publicly read at each annual return of this festival, in all the Armenian Churches throughout the Ottoman Empire. Thus were the Protestants cut off and cast out forever. And although they had no power to organize themselves into a civil community, yet nothing could be plainer than their duty, immediately to secure to themselves and their children, as far as they were able, the full possession of all the spiritual privileges of the Gospel.

They made a written request to the missionaries, for aid in a matter in which they themselves had had no experience. Accordingly, a meeting was held in Constantinople, of delegates from the different stations of the mission to Turkey. The Rev. Messrs. Allan and Koenig, missionaries of the Free Church of Scotland, to the Jews

of Constantinople, and the Rev. Dr. Pomroy, then pastor of a Congregational Church in Bangor, Maine, and now one of the Secretaries of the Board, who was providentially on a visit to the Levant at that time, were also present by invitation, and took part in the deliberations. All felt that God was there; and the overwhelming importance of the business on which we were convened, and our own ignorance and impotence, seemed to compel us to throw ourselves directly upon him. Without wisdom from above we could agree upon nothing that would be useful or safe. Without his approbation and blessing, the steps we were about to take would only prove a failure and a curse. His providence and spirit had been wonderfully with his people hitherto, in that dark land, and surely he would not desert them now. What might be the effect on their temporal condition of the announcement to the government, that a formal organization of a Protestant Church had taken place, none could certainly predict; but no doubt existed in any mind as to their duty. Much prayer was offered, both by the members of the convention and our native brethren, and to this must we ascribe it, that although there were representatives of three or four different denominations of Christians among us, yet the most entire harmony of feeling pervaded our deliberations, and the result was attained by a unanimous vote.

On the 1st day of July, 1846, the Evangelical Armenians in Constantinople, to the number of forty, (three of whom were females), came together for the purpose of organizing themselves into a Church. The plan of organization, as drawn up at the above mentioned meeting, was read and explained, article by article, and those

present gave their solemn assent to the whole, and with perfect unanimity, adopted it as theirs, and were thus constituted into The First Evangelical Armenian Church of Constantinople. There were present as witnesses of the act, besides the missionaries of the Board, the two Scotch brethren already mentioned, and an Armenian brother from Nicomedia, and another from Adabazar. After the names of the church members had been recorded, a pastor was chosen by ballot, and without previous consultation, the choice fell unanimously on Mr. Apisoghom Khachadûrian. The other church officers were then elected, and the meeting was adjourned. Although the whole had occupied from four to five hours, the deepest interest was maintained throughout; much tenderness of feeling was manifested, and many eyes were suffused with tears.

In one week from that time, the candidate was publicly ordained to the work of the Gospel ministry, as pastor of the newly formed Church. The ecclesiastical council invited by the Church to perform this office, consisted of the missionaries of the board resident at Constantinople, and the Rev. Mr. Allan, of the mission of the Free Church of Scotland, to the Jews of the capital. The pastor elect was examined in the presence of the church, as to his personal piety; his views in entering the ministry; on the doctrines of the Gospel; church government; the sacraments; and the duties of the pastoral office; and his replies throughout were such as to give the highest satisfaction. Although he had not enjoyed the advantages of so thorough a course of study and discipline as are accessible to the student in theology in America; yet, besides having received an education at

the school of Pestimaljian—the best in the Armenian nation—he had been for years in constant intercourse with the missionaries; had attended courses of exegetical and theological lectures delivered by them; and had received much private instruction from their lips. But, what is more than all, he seemed eminently led and taught by the Spirit of God, and he possessed a deep and experimental knowledge of the Scriptures; and even his enemies were constrained, not only to respect his talents, but also to acknowledge that he was a man without guile. His clear perception of evangelical truth; his power of argumentation; his impressiveness of manner; his superior judgment; his boldness and earnestness, and his general weight of character—all sanctified by a pervading spirit of piety, plainly marked him out as having been raised up of God for the times in which he lived, and the very post he occupied. Those who were present at his ordination, will not soon forget the deep and solemn emotion he manifested on that occasion. He seemed almost overwhelmed with a view of the responsibilities of the station to which he was so unexpectedly called, and during the whole ordaining prayer, his tears flowed profusely, and a trembling sense of his own unworthiness well nigh prostrated him upon the earth.

A scene so new as a Protestant ordination in the capital of the Turkish Empire drew forth a crowd to our chapel, several of whom were of the Patriarch's party. The strictest silence, however, prevailed, and the most fixed and solemn attention was given to every part of the service. Whatever may have been the estimate placed upon these transactions by the worldly and the unfriendly, to the man of faith they were big with importance. A

vine was now planted by God's own right hand, which is destined to grow and spread forth its branches, to the north and to the south, to the east and to the west, until it shall cover the whole land, and bless all the people with its delicious and abundant fruit.

As an act of justice to themselves, the members of this new church lost no time in setting forth before the world the declaration of their faith, and their reasons for the step they had taken. A pamphlet was issued in the Armenian language, containing the "Confession of Faith, and Covenant of the Evangelical Armenian Church of Constantinople," preceded by a brief statement of the manner in which they had been forced to organize themselves into a Church, by the compulsory measures of the Patriarch.*

In the course of the same summer, churches were formed on the same basis, in Nicomedia, Adabazar, and Trebizond; with the most evident good results, although the original number of members was, in each case, small. It is not known that the least objection was ever made to these organizations, by the Turkish government, or any of its officers. Indeed, the sympathies of the Mohammedans were with the persecuted, rather than with their enemies. The Armenians were often sufficiently influential with the Turks to deter a public officer, for a season, from vindicating the cause of a suffering Protestant; but the instances were many in which the persecuted found protection under the wing of some friendly Mussulman; and nothing was more common than to hear the latter maintain that the Protestants were right, and the Armenians wrong. The use of pictures in worship; the invocation of saints; and the doctrines of transubstantiation and

* See Appendix F.

priestly absolution, are as abhorrent to the Koran as they are to the Bible. What occurred in Adabazar about the time of the organization of the Evangelical Church, is a fair specimen of the feelings cherished generally, and often publicly avowed by Mohammedans, who have intimately known the Protestants. Some of the brethren had been summoned to the governor's palace, where were assembled a large number of Armenian and Greek primates, as well as the leading Turks of the town; and they were required by the bishop to give a public promise that they would have no intercourse with Mr. Wood, who was then in the place. They firmly answered that by nation they were Armenians, and by faith Evangelical Christians, and in regard to their civil relations, they were obedient and faithful subjects of the Sûltan. "And now," said they, "if it be wrong to visit a teacher of like faith with ourselves, because he is an American, show us that it is forbidden in the Bible, or by a law of the Sûltan, and we will submit; otherwise we cannot consent to deprive ourselves of the benefit derived from intercourse with him." All the Turks present expressed their approbation of the ground they assumed, and the judge said, "We cannot interfere to protect you from excommunication, but so long as you abide by the declaration you have now made, we will protect you civilly. Your goods shall be as our goods; your houses as our houses; and your persons as our persons. Go in peace."

On the day following, which was the Sabbath, as Mr. Wood was going with some of the brethren to the fields, where it had been agreed they should hold the meetings of the day, they passed a Turkish house, the owner of which invited them to stop and take some water. He then

expressed his gratification at the result of the trial of the preceding day, and said, it was right they should be left to worship God in their own way, without molestation. Another Turk, farther on, invited them to hold their meetings in his field, and directed his laborers to forbid any hostile Armenian from entering it! Thus wonderfully were protectors raised up for the poor, weak, and defenseless lambs of Christ's flock, from among those who were least expected to act in such a capacity. Truly, the hand of God was in this thing!

CHAPTER XI.

Slow progress of Religious Liberty—Covert Methods of Persecution—Imprisonment of Stepan—Attempt to close Protestant Chapel—Mobs—Redress from Government—Anomalous Position of the Protestants—Gradual Amelioration—Protestant Funeral—Growth of the Community—Female Field—Deaths of Oscan, of Hovsep, and of the first Pastor—His Dying Testimony—Ordinations—New Scene in Nicomedia—Missionary Tours—Beginning of Light at Aintab—Arrival of Mr. Bliss—Lord Cowley's Agency—The Protestants recognized as a Community—Day of Thanksgiving and Prayer—New Impulse to the Work—Awakening at Geghi, and at Aintab—Station at Aintab occupied—Arrival of Mr. Crane—Colporteurs—Urgent Appeals—Mr. Sahakian ordained—Mr. Khachadûr licensed—Burying ground at Trebizond—Preservation of the Pera Chapel—Degradation of Matteos Patriarch.

After what has now been narrated, it may be an unexpected announcement to the reader, that persecution was still to be a chosen instrument of Providence, in carrying forward the work of reform in Turkey, as well as for the salutary discipline of the people of God. True, the highest authority in the land had decided against it; and this decision corresponded with the charter of rights, guaranteed to his people by the reigning Sûltan, soon after his accession to the throne. It corresponded also with the spirit of these mighty changes that have been

and are taking place in the Turkish Empire—changes in dress, in social habits, in the administration of the laws, and in the means and method of education ; and especially with the strong tendency that has become more and more visible, to a separation of the civil from the ecclesiastical power. The enlightened Christian, who notices the fact that the first beginnings of change in Turkey were almost exactly simultaneous with the beginnings of the missionary movement in the land ; and, though without any visible connection, in any way, with that movement, the changes in question have, in a good measure, kept pace with the progress of the missionary cause, will not hesitate to ascribe the whole to one great overruling agency ; the agency of God, exerted through his providence and his Spirit. And yet, who that knows Turkey ; who that knows the history of the world, can wonder that a decree in favor of religious liberty, in such circumstances, is not consistently and fully carried out in a day ? To write out an edict is the work of minutes ; to change the opinions and habits of men, is often the work of years. Imperial decrees may intimidate evil disposed persons from open acts of violence, but so long as the disposition to evil remains, and especially if it be the offspring of strong prejudice and passion, and means are in constant operation to keep these alive and active, it will be sure to find ways of venting itself in secret, if it cannot in public, upon the victims it has marked as its own.

The government of the Sûltan had ordered that the Protestants be no longer molested in their civil rights, on account of their religious sentiments. Their shops were re-opened, as we have seen, but it was comparatively easy

for their busy enemies to prevent traffic with them, without openly infringing the law, and this was repeatedly done.* They could not be imprisoned or banished merely for their religious sentiments; but false claims of debt could and did imprison them; and false charges of vicious conduct, established by perjury, could and did secure their banishment. In Constantinople, considerable sums of money were paid by different individuals to avoid imprisonment for pretended debts; and more than a score of Protestants, at different times, were shut up with felons for alleged crimes which false witnesses had proved against them, and which they, from the very organization of the Turkish Courts, could not disprove. As an example of the length to which the Patriarch could even now go in his persecuting measures, the following story is related: A place of Protestant worship was opened in the city proper, for the accommodation of many families who, on account of the distance, could not often be present at the chapel in Pera. The house hired for this purpose was built by a former Patriarch, though now owned by his brother, who was a worthy member of the Protestant community and Church. It was situated near the Pa-

* In consequence of the disadvantageous position of the Protestant Armenians for doing business, the plan was formed of encouraging a few ingenious and promising young men to repair to America, for the purpose of making themselves masters of certain useful trades, that were either not known in Turkey, or only imperfectly known: with the view to their returning and opening shops for the prosecution of these trades. The double advantage was anticipated of securing employment to those Protestants who were destitute of it, and of raising the Protestant community in the useful arts, at least to a level with other communities in the land. Five young men, of good character, are already in this country, in pursuance of this plan. They came at their own expense, and have no connection with the Board.

triarchate, which no doubt was an additional cause of vexation to this dignitary. At that time no other house could be procured in all Constantinople, for such a purpose. By a cunning device, the Patriarch procured the imprisonment of Stepan, the owner of the house, by the Turkish police, on charge of flogging one of his priests! The priest had been sent by his superior to Stepan's house, in his absence, to endeavor to persuade his wife to separate from him; and the injured husband merely called at the priest's door, and warned him not to enter his house again, on pain of civil prosecution. This was a sufficient ground for a pretext, the futility of which was transparent on the trial, the whole object and aim of the charges being to prevent the holding of Protestant worship in the house in question. The Patriarch first claimed the house as the property of the Church, having been built by a Patriarch. And when this was decided against him, he begged that Stepan might be removed from the house, since all his neighbors were complaining against him as a disturber of the peace. This also was set aside. After several other vain shifts on the part of the Patriarch to accomplish his object, the Judge at length took up the same side, and said to Stepan, "The government gives you no permission to hold meetings in that house." "Sir," said Stepan, with solemn earnestness, "I beg that you will not fatigue yourselves with efforts to prevent us from meeting; for I declare that not only I, but all the Protestant Armenians also, are ready to shed our blood for this thing. Consult together, if you please, as to the best method of getting rid of us, whether by exiling, drowning, or by cutting off our heads; but it is useless to try to prevent us from meeting The Holy Gospel commands us to meet, and it is a mat-

ter of conscience and duty with us; and we can never cease to meet for the worship of God." The Judge had no reply to make to this noble answer, but merely directed his clerk to record that "the Protestants say it is a matter of faith and conscience with them to hold meetings." Stepan was soon liberated; and although the ecclesiastical powers were unwearied in their efforts to shut up that place of worship, yet God never permitted them to succeed.

In interior places, where the new order of things was not so well understood, and where the local governors were more completely the creatures and the tools of rich and influential Armenians, it was still more easy to afflict the Protestants with impunity. In Nicomedia, after religious liberty had been proclaimed to the Protestants, the brethren were often abused in the streets, and their houses stoned. Priest Harûtun had nearly all his windows broken. In Adabazar a Protestant teacher was put in chains and sent to prison, on the general charge of disturbing the peace, though no one in the town was really more peaceable than he. At Trebizond, a mob of women attacked, with heavy stones, two females who were returning from the preaching of the missionaries, and because their husbands endeavored to shield them from harm, these husbands were thrown into prison, and there stretched out, with their faces downwards, upon the cold, damp ground, and their feet confined in the stocks! In this painful position they were left for a whole day without food, so that one became insensible, and was more dead than alive when he was removed. The other was carried to Constantinople, and there kept in close confinement for several months, his persecutors, who were influential, insisting upon it that he was a disturber of the peace and a danger-

ous man. In the same place, on the occasion of the death of a Protestant brother, the house where the body lay was assailed by stones from a furious mob, and every effort was made to prevent the burial. This necessary duty could only be performed, at last, under shelter of the night, and by paying twenty-one dollars for permission to dig a grave in the public highway! At Erzrûm an infuriated mob forced its way into the house of Dr. Smith, and bore away a priest of the Church who had escaped thither to avoid persecution, he being a Protestant in sentiment. They afterwards returned with renewed fury, broke into the house a second time, felled to the ground a native assistant and also a patient of the doctor, and destroyed seven or eight hundred dollars' worth of books and furniture.

Even in the capital itself, at the burial of the first Protestant adult after the separation, the procession, in returning from the grave, was followed by a mob of Armenians, who first began to shout in a highly insulting and disgraceful manner, using the most filthy language; and afterwards to hurl stones, some of which were of an enormous size. The mob thus followed the procession for a quarter of a mile or more, when they amounted to at least a thousand persons. Several of the Armenian brethren, and one at least of the missionaries, were struck with the stones, though providentially no one was seriously injured. In all these cases, and numberless others of a similar kind the Turkish tribunals were immediately appealed to for redress; and this was, sooner or later, almost sure to be obtained, though not always to the full extent that was due. At Nicomedia the governor ordered the civil and ecclesiastical leaders of the Armenian community to desist

from their oppressions, saying, "The Protestants no longer belong to you, and you have no right to interfere with their religion." A file of soldiers, even, was sent on one occasion to disperse the mob. At Trebizond, police officers were regularly stationed at the entrance of the Protestant place of worship, as long as such a step was considered necessary. By the prompt and decisive intervention of the United States Minister at the Porte, Mr. Carr, the damages sustained at Erzrûm by Dr. Smith were repaid, and four of the leaders in the mob were imprisoned. And in Constantinople, the police took effectual measures to prevent the recurrence of such disgraceful scenes as those described in connection with the first funeral.

The position of the Protestants was still an anomalous one in Turkey. They were separated from the Armenian community, but not united with any other. The Turkish government was determined they should not be molested by the Patriarch or his ministers, but exactly what to do with them was not so easily decided. According to the municipal regulations of Constantinople, neither marriage, baptism, nor burial can be performed without the cognizance of the civil power. A certificate from the Patriarch must be presented to the head of the police, to procure a permit for marriage. The name of every child baptized must be communicated by the Patriarch to the same officer, for enrollment; and previous permission must be obtained, through the Patriarch, from the Board of Health, for every burial. Besides this, no person can travel in the country without a passport, and no passport can be obtained without the Patriarch's voucher for the honesty of the man. At first it seemed to be the plan of the government, that while the Protestants should be entirely

separated from the Patriarch, so far as religious matters were concerned, he might still be left to act for them as their civil representative at the Porte. This was soon found to be utterly impracticable. There seemed to be two principal objections to organizing them regularly into a separate civil community; namely, the fewness of their numbers, and the strong objections of certain parties having great influence with the government. They were consequently left for more than a year and a half with their rights acknowledged, and yet without any regular provision for securing those rights from invasion; and subject, in the interval, to frequent grievances and even oppressions, such as have been described. And it is always to be understood, that Protestants in the interior were exposed to greater trials of this sort in proportion to the remoteness of their situation from the capital.

But though the patience of the evangelical Armenians was long tried in various ways, through their imperfect acknowledgment by the government, still there was a gradual amelioration of their condition evidently going on, which, to such as were watching with reasonable expectations, the signs of the times, was highly encouraging. It is impossible for those who have never been in like circumstances, to conceive of the degree of satisfaction and encouragement felt by the Protestants when they were for the first time permitted to bury their dead in peace, under the protection of the civil power, and to procure a permit for marriage, and a passport for traveling, without the mediation of the Patriarch. The second adult funeral among them was in striking contrast with the first. It occurred on the Sabbath, and in the procession were from one hundred to one hundred and fifty native Protestants.

with their pastor at their head carrying a copy of the Scriptures in his hand. All marched silently and solemnly, at mid-day, through the most public street of Pera, to the Protestant burying-ground, under the protection of a body of the police. It was a new and wonderful spectacle for Turkey; and shop-keepers and artisans along the way turned aside from business for the moment, and inquired, What new thing is this? Hitherto the funeral processions of native Christians had been accompanied with gilded crosses elevated in the air, and candles, and priestly robes, and chantings. It was whispered from mouth to mouth, "These are the Protestants. See how the government protects them!" Some of the Mussulmans said, "Look! There are no crosses! no singing! This is as it should be."

Several hundreds of people of different classes gathered around the grave, where a hymn was sung, and a short but earnest and appropriate address was delivered by the pastor. Many went home from that burial with new and more correct impressions of what Protestantism really is. The moral influence of the whole spectacle was highly salutary, and it was felt by all that an important point had been gained to the Protestant cause. So also, when several months subsequently the first native Protestant wedding took place, the permit being given by the Turkish government, and the ceremony performed by Mr. Khachadûrian, the pastor, not only without the intervention of the Patriarch, but in spite of various intrigues on his part to prevent it.

The internal growth of the community was ever in advance of the external. No week passed without furnishing evidence of the special presence of God's Spirit, and

no communion season without accessions to the Church. Great care was taken in the admission of members, and none were received except after long trial, and a strict examination by the committee of the Church. During the first year of its organization, forty-eight persons were added to the Church in Constantinople, seventeen of whom were received on one Sabbath; making eighty-eight communicants, in all, at the end of the year In the native female field, a somewhat rapid development now took place.

The desire to hear the Gospel preached had greatly increased among them. The oriental rules of seclusion in reference to women, had hitherto prevented the attendance of females at the public services. From occupying an uncomfortable position for hearing on the Sabbath, in a room adjacent to the chapel, they were placed behind a screen at the end of the chapel itself. Their boldness increasing with increasing numbers, the screen was gradually removed, and they were permitted to see as well as hear the speaker. Subsequently, their position in the house of God was still further improved, by their being arranged on one side of the chapel, while the men were placed on the other. The existence of our female seminary greatly facilitated these changes, which, much as they were opposed to former custom and prejudice, have so far resulted in no apparent evil, but have been productive of great good. Female education had been so entirely neglected, that many who joined the Protestant community were unable even to read. The desire to peruse for themselves the word of God, operated as a most powerful stimulus, and several adult classes were soon formed, composed in part of elderly women, who gave themselves with ex-

traordinary diligence to the labor of learning to read in their own native tongue.

Three remarkable deaths occurred among the evangelical Armenians, that belong to the present period of our narrative. The first was that of Mr. Oscan, an aged pilgrim, who had for years been groaning under severe bodily infirmities, but was rich in faith. He had several times been brought very low, so that his life was despaired of; but God preserved him, and he seemed almost miraculously strengthened, so as to participate in the services at the formation of the first evangelical Armenian Church in Constantinople, and to put down his name with the people of God. On the following week he was also permitted to be present at the ordination of the first pastor. It was one of the most interesting sights of that memorable day, to behold the good old man, bending under the infirmities of age, with the tears trickling down his furrowed and sunken cheeks as he witnessed what he never expected to see on the earth, and apparently saying, with aged Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." And he did soon depart. He was the oldest member of the Church, and the first to join "the general assembly and church of the first born in heaven." The disgraceful scenes exhibited at his funeral have been already described.

The next individual referred to was Mr. Hovsep Gamalielian. Up to the forty-third year of his age he was the slave of vicious habits, a drunkard and a debauchee of the lowest class. Through the blessing of God on the faithfulness of a brother, he was awakened and led to see his awful guilt, and to look to Christ alone for pardon and salvation. He became a most zealous and exemplary disciple of the Lord Jesus. When the persecution commenced,

he was driven from his shop and his father's house, from which he remained an exile until he died. He received frequent abuse for his attachment to the Gospel, and once was knocked down and beaten in the streets by some of the Patriarch's zealous coadjutors. It may with truth be said that he was persecuted unto death ; for his last sickness was brought on from a shock he received, by the sudden appearance at his shop of a ruffian who, a day or two previously, had showed a dagger, and threatened to take the life of a Christian brother, merely for his religion. Hovsep, supposing that his own life was in imminent peril from the hands of this ferocious enemy, was so startled at the moment, that a profuse hemorrhage from the lungs came on, which terminated in his death within a few weeks. Almost his last words were, "O, my sins! my many and grievous sins! What can I do to wipe them away? I am perfectly impotent ; but, blessed be God, he has made known to me the Gospel of his Son and my hope is in him alone!"

The third individual referred to, was the beloved pastor himself, who, to the inexpressible grief of his people, was suddenly snatched away from them by death, in the very midst of his usefulness. His labors, and cares, and anxieties had been abundant. Being the pastor of a persecuted flock, he was the object of many a shaft from the enemy. He was sometimes thrown into very exciting scenes, in the midst of mobs, raised in the streets to vex the Protestants. Only a short time previous to his death, he visited Nicomedia ; and while there, was called to attend the funeral of a Protestant brother. As the procession passed along the street, thousands of hostile Armenians were assembled, to meet it with insults and

abuse. Arrived at the place of burial, this rabble gathered around the grave, and Mr. Khachadûrian took the opportunity of preaching to them the Gospel of Christ. They listened in perfect silence, and then went quietly to their homes. The pastor returned to Constantinople, overcome by exertion and excitement. Within a week, he was exposed to the worrying influence of a similar outrage, at the funeral of a Protestant child, in the capital. His last disease immediately developed itself, which was pronounced by a judicious physician to be a disease of the brain, induced by excessive mental effort and excitement, a disease in this form, scarcely known in the country. During most of his illness he was delirious, but his ruling passion was constantly showing itself. Scarcely anything else was heard to proceed from his lips but the name of his beloved Saviour, or what pertained to his kingdom and glory. He had lost the control of his fine mind, but his time was spent, even in the midst of his delirium, chiefly in preaching, exhortation, and prayer. It became more and more evident that his days were numbered, and that his end was near. But how sad was the prospect to his weeping Church! The report had already gone abroad among his superstitious enemies that God had smitten him with raving madness and despair, in consequence of the anathemas of the Church, which rested upon him; and great would have been their glorying, had this sun thus set under a cloud. But the earnest supplications of his Church were heard; the cloud was lifted up; the laboring mind was unshackled; and the departing saint was permitted to magnify the grace of Christ, by declaring how abundantly he was sustained in that solemn hour.

I was providentially called to his bedside, but a short time before his departure. He was lying in a state of apparent stupor, and a number of the male and female members of his Church were sitting mournfully around his bed. I immediately endeavored to arouse his attention, in order, if possible, to ascertain from his own lips, the state of his soul. After one or two unsuccessful efforts, to the surprise and delight of all present, he seemed to awake as out of a deep sleep, and I had a long and deeply interesting conversation with him respecting his prospects and hopes for eternity. In answer to inquiries, he said that his heart was "full of sin, but Jesus Christ was his righteousness, his sanctification, and his redemption;" and that his hope was "not at all in his own merits; but only in the free and infinite grace of God." In short, his feet were firmly planted on the rock, Christ Jesus, and, while still in the flesh he was permitted to enjoy a foretaste of heavenly glory. His dying testimony was most precious to his weeping church. Those who were present seemed much more ready to give him up, after his lips had been once more unsealed, and he permitted to testify to the all-sustaining grace of God, at a time when flesh and heart were failing. At the end of every answer to inquiries put to him, they cried out all over the room—Bless the Lord! Glory to God! Glory to God! being wholly unable to suppress their emotions, and the sense of gratitude they felt that God had so graciously heard and answered their prayers.

I afterwards engaged in prayer, and our dying brother uttered a loud *Amen*, at the end of every sentence, to the very last, and then, in an instant, he sunk again into a stupor, from which he never more awoke One of the brethren

went to his bedside, and with an almost bursting heart, cried out, "Brother Apisoghom! Brother Apisoghom! Who shall preach to us; who shall exhort us when you are dead?" The beloved pastor was too far gone to reply; and all the brethren and sisters of the Church who were present, gave vent to their feelings in a flood of tears.

Thus did this chosen servant of God end his labors on the earth, after only eight months' service in the pastoral office. His death occurred on the 12th of March, 1847. To us it was a most trying dispensation, but of one thing we felt certain, God can make no mistake. A brother of the deceased, Mr. Simon Khachadûrian, was shortly after elected, and ordained pastor in his place. He had been educated at the Bebek Seminary, and possessed rare qualities for the office to which he was called, and which he still continues to adorn.

Two other pupils of the same seminary, Mr. Avedis and Mr. Mugurdich, were licensed to preach the Gospel. The latter was subsequently ordained as pastor of the Evangelical Church in Trebizond, and the former as co-pastor in Constantinople. Another pastor was ordained in Nicomedia in the latter part of November, 1847. This was Mr. Harûtun Minasian. His ordination was attended by circumstances of peculiar interest. His little flock had been for many years exposed to almost constant persecution. Oftentimes they were driven from the abodes of men, and compelled to hold their worship in the distant fields; and even there, they were never sure of being left unmolested. Now they had a place for public worship in the very heart of the city; and there, at mid-day, on the Sabbath, the ordination services were performed—

no one daring to "molest them or make them afraid." The interest of the occasion was enhanced by the historic recollections of the place. In this town the Emperor Diocletian held his court, and on this very spot began the memorable persecution of Christians in his reign. Though the truth has been for ages shrouded in darkness, yet it has not been lost. God has still a seed to serve him: and once more a congregation of faithful men is there gathered, in which the pure Gospel is preached, and the ordinances scripturally administered.

Missionary tours performed through various parts in the interior of the country, brought to light many encouraging facts in regard to the extent of the work of reform. It is believed that there was not a single town of any size in the whole land, in which Armenians were found, where there were not at least one or two on the Protestant side; and, in many cases, several in one place were ready to avow themselves openly as friends of the Gospel. But in no place was the movement more remarkable than at Aintab, a town situated about three days' ride northeast from Aleppo. Some copies of the Scriptures, and other books from our press, had found their way to this town, chiefly through the agency of Bedros vartabed, who labored as a colporteur in those parts; and a few individuals, by the blessing of God on the simple reading of the word, had their eyes opened to see the errors of their Church. Soon after, the Patriarchal bull against priest Vertanes and the other evangelical brethren, was received from Constantinople, and publicly read in the Church. Those who had been convinced of the truth now learned, for the first time, that there existed in the Armenian community a body of men who take the Bible as their only guide. This greatly

encouraged and strengthened them. Soon after, a vartabed came to Aintab, and began to preach the evangelical doctrines, in the Armenian Church, in the most bold and zealous manner. He was interesting in his appearance, and eloquent in his speech; and with great fearlessness did he expose the errors of his Church, and with great power set forth the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel. Very many were convinced by him of the truth, and were led to renounce their previous errors, and openly avow themselves as Protestants. It seemed as though the whole fabric of superstition in Aintab must speedily fall. It was soon discovered that this new and zealous preacher of the evangelical doctrines, was himself evangelical only in name. His moral character proved to be infamous, and he was sent away in disgrace. The fruits of his preaching, however, remained, although he proved so unworthy an instrument. The evangelical brethren immediately prepared a letter, signed by eighty-two heads of families, requesting that a missionary might forthwith be sent to them. Mr. Van Lennep, of Constantinople, went in obedience to the call, though not to remain permanently, as they had hoped. His visit was timely and useful. The place was afterwards visited by Mr. Johnston, by Dr. Smith, and by Mr. Schneider; and a flourishing church was gathered, and one of the largest congregations of Protestants in the Turkish empire! The condition of the Armenians in all that section of the country was highly encouraging.

In the latter part of the summer of 1847, Rev. Isaac G. Bliss and wife arrived in the country from America, and proceeded to join Mr. Peabody in his labor in Erzrûm. An evangelical Armenian Church had been organized there in

April, and another was formed in Brûsa in July, making seven in all in the Turkish empire.

The part taken by Sir Stratford Canning in securing liberty of conscience to the subjects of Turkey, has already been often alluded to. In the year 1847 this worthy representative of the British Government returned for a season to his native land, and Lord Cowley was appointed to occupy, temporarily, his place. He proved himself to be as warm and firm a friend of religious freedom as his predecessor. From the moment of his accession to this important post, he exerted himself with the most unremitting zeal to secure to the Protestant Armenians a distinct recognition on the part of the Porte, and a formal organization, which should place them on the same footing with all the other Christian communities in the empire. It surely was not by mere accident that such representatives of the British Government were called successively to occupy this place at such a crisis. Nor was it by accident that the Turkish ministry which came into power just at the beginning of these trying times, was composed of the most liberal and intelligent men in the whole country. It was God himself who so timed events, that both the Sûltan and his ministers, before whom the frequent appeals of his suffering people were to go for deliverance from injustice and oppression, and with whom the representatives of the British nation were to negotiate for religious freedom, should be men whose whole policy of government was to deliver their country from abuses—to secure the rights of the individual subject—to obliterate religious distinctions in civil matters—and separate as much as possible the Church from the State.

The noble efforts of Lord Cowley were crowned with

complete success. On the 15th of November, 1847, h procured from the Turkish Government an imperial decree, recognizing native Protestants as constituting a separate and independent community in Turkey. In this high official paper it was declared that "no interference whatever should be permitted in their temporal or spiritual concerns, on the part of the patriarchs, monks, or priests of other sects."* This decree was immediately sent to all the Pashas in the interior, under whose jurisdiction Protestants were known to exist. An individual elected by the new community was formally recognized by the government as the agent and representative of the Protestants at the Porte. To those who are most conversant with Turkey, and who know what mighty influences have always been operating to prevent the spread of Protestantism in that country, and how great were the difficulties in the way of its formal recognition on the part of the Turkish Government, it appears but little less than miraculous that this thing was effected in so short a time. To God be all the praise!

The part taken by Lord Cowley in these transactions, led the missionaries to address to him a letter of acknowledgment on the occasion of his departure from the country, in which also the most honorable mention is made of the efficient instrumentality of Sir Stratford Canning, as well as of the liberal and humane policy of the British Government itself. To this communication a very gratifying answer was received, clearly indicating the deep personal interest taken by its writer in the Protestant movement in Turkey.†

The evangelical brethren in Constantinople, immedi-

* See Appendix G. † See Appendix H.

ately appointed a day for special thanksgiving and prayer. They had obtained, through the most signal interpositions of Providence, a governmental recognition, calling for their sincere and devout acknowledgments. They were placed in a new and important position, and had urgent need of that wisdom and grace which come down from above, in answer to fervent prayer. Great was the joy of the Protestants in every part of the land, though still it was, in many cases, rejoicing with trembling. At the different missionary stations greater boldness in attending the preaching of the Gospel was noticed, and a new impulse seemed to be given to the spirit of inquiry. In Erzrûm, those who gave evidence of true piety, became more active and prayerful, and some who had been convinced of the truth, but were too timid to join themselves with the people of God, in times of persecution, now began to be seen at the Sabbath services. At Brûsa, the missionaries reported, that much discussion of religious subjects prevailed, and the truth was gaining ground. At Trebizond, the Church had been carried through a season of sore internal trials, but with no material injury. The new order of things produced the same effects there as elsewhere, and the brethren were greatly encouraged. At Nicomedia, the house of God became the resort of many who, a short time previously, were found in the ranks of the enemy. The special influences of the Spirit were extensively enjoyed, though in no case except at the Female Seminary in Constantinople, was the movement general enough to be designated as a revival of religion. In the district of Geghi, southwest of Erzrûm, containing from twelve to fifteen thousand souls, Mr. Peabody found very promising indications

of an extensive religious awakening. Some had suffered severely for the truth, but the Word of God could not be dislodged from their hearts. The vartabed himself was the most decided evangelical man in the community. For personal security, he was obliged to flee to Erzrûm, where, after a sufficient trial, he was received into the Evangelical Church; and, as the civil power in his own province now protected the Protestants, it was expected that he would soon return to Geghi, to labor for the spiritual good of his countrymen. At Aintab, the development was more rapid, perhaps, than anywhere else. Mr. Schneider, of the Brûsa station, spent the summer of 1848 in labors there, during which time the congregation steadily increased, and many were affected to tears, under the preaching of the Word. A very intelligent priest became obedient to the faith, and his sincerity was called, more than once, to the severe test of persecution. He remained firm to his principles through all his trials. At a communion season in October, 1848, seventeen persons were added to the Church, five of whom were females. During the same month, Dr. Smith returned to Aintab, where he took up his residence as a missionary of the Board, together with his wife. The importance of the station was such, that it was proposed to Mr. and Mrs. Schneider, of Brûsa, to become permanently connected with it. It was a trying question, involving many sacrifices; but the call appearing plainly providential, they cheerfully obeyed. They arrived at Aintab on the 11th of May, 1849. It was a striking providence, that the same steamer which brought away Mr. Schneider from Ghemlik, the port of Brûsa, carried back thither to occupy

his place, the Rev. Oliver Crane and wife, who had just arrived from America.

Among the evangelical Christians at Aintab a most commendable zeal had shown itself for the spread of the Gospel in the towns and villages around. Several attempts had been made by individuals to labor as colporteurs, but they were never suffered to remain long in a place. The Armenian primates easily succeeded in persuading the Turkish authorities to order them away as vagabonds. A novel experiment was made, early in the year 1849, to accomplish the object in view without subjecting themselves to the charge of being mere idlers, and "busybodies in other men's matters." Five individuals who had trades, went forth to different towns, with their tools in one hand, and the sword of the Spirit in the other. Wherever they went they worked at their trade, while, at the same time, they labored for the spiritual good of the people. The experiment succeeded to admiration. The spirit of religious inquiry was spreading from Aintab in almost all directions. The congregation in the town itself had become so large, that two places were opened for worship at the same time. And from various towns and villages throughout the country, the most urgent appeals came from souls that were hungering for the bread of life. They were found in Killis, Beleren, Marash, Orfa, Diarbekr, Malatia, Kharpût, Arghany, Palû, Arabkir, and various other places, near and remote.

In November, 1848, Mr. Hohannes Sahakian, who had been educated in America, was licensed at Constantinople to preach the Gospel; and in the following spring, he was ordained as pastor of the evangelical Armenian Church in Adabazar, where he has been since laboring with great

diligence and success. Mr. Khachadûr, a pupil of the Bebek Seminary, was licensed as a preacher in February, 1849.

In Trebizond, formal permission was given by the governor to the Protestants, to use as a burying-ground a piece of land purchased for this purpose three years previously. As long ago as January, 1848, a vizirial letter had been procured, through the generous efforts of Mr. Carr, the United States Minister at the Porte, ordering the authorities in Trebizond to see that the Protestants be permitted to have a cemetery of their own, but various difficulties had prevented an earlier accomplishment of the design.

The year 1848 was remarkable for the number and extent of its conflagrations in the city of Constantinople; and among the providential interpositions in behalf of the Protestant cause, must be mentioned the fact, that in five or six different instances the devouring element approached so near to our chapel and Female Seminary in Pera, as to leave but a faint hope that they would escape; and once even they actually began to burn, but the flames were speedily extinguished. Again and again was it shouted in the camp of the enemy, "The Protestant Chapel is consumed;" but, in each case, an unseen hand was stretched out to arrest the destroyer, and save the Protestant cause from so great a disaster.

From all that has now been narrated, it is evident that the Patriarch Matteos' plans for the overthrow of Protestantism in the country, met with a most signal failure. His own removal from office is the last record to be made in this chapter. He was found guilty of various frauds upon the public treasury, and, according to the official

announcement of the case in the French journal of Constantinople, "of acts of injustice inconsistent with patriarchal dignity." He was accordingly degraded, and sentenced to banishment. A friendly banker, however, became surety for him, and procured his release from this part of the punishment. He has since been living in retirement on the shores of the Bosphorus.

CHAPTER XII.

The two Conflicting Parties—Preaching Christ—Character of Native Pastors—Male and Female Seminaries—The Press—Native Churches self-supporting—Working of the System—Character of Church Members—Present aspect of the Work—State of the Armenian Church—Crisis approaching—Anticipations of the Future.

The record now made of the struggles of spirituality against formalism in Turkey, is only a repetition, in substance, of what has occurred in this world, hundreds of times before. And, as in the present instance, the many have usually been arrayed against the few; wealth against poverty; strength against weakness. On the side of the assailants have been age, experience, and cunning; on the side of the assailed, youth, ignorance, and simplicity. With the former have been all the advantages of an awe-inspiring antiquity, covering with its sacred mantle, which it were the most daring profaneness to remove, its symbols of faith, its rites and ceremonies, and its religious and priestly order. While the latter could boast of neither priesthood nor church; altar nor gorgeous rites; in short, of nothing external calculated to inspire terror, or even to attract notice. That the weak

side in this conflict should almost uniformly prove victorious, is easily explained, to the satisfaction of all who believe the Bible. On the one side, all is human; on the other, all is divine. And God works by instruments of his own, choosing "the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised; yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are; that no flesh should glory in his presence."

It will be seen from the preceding narrative, that the principal means used by the missionaries, and those native brethren who have been called to aid in this work, was the preaching of "Christ and him crucified." For several years, the work of reform went on without the formal preaching of the word, though even then the Gospel was preached, assiduously, to multitudes, in a private way. As soon, however, as congregations could be gathered, we availed ourselves of this method of acting on the popular mind, and experience among the Armenians, as elsewhere, has fully attested the paramount importance of public and formal preaching, as an instrument in the hands of the foreign missionary. The style of preaching has been plain, simple, and direct, though probably much more elevated than would be practicable among the heathen; as the Armenians possess, in general, a far higher intellectual character to begin with. In the composition of sermons, our method has not differed essentially from that which has usually been prevalent in America, though in no case, so far as the knowledge of the author goes, are the missionaries in the habit of preaching written discourses.

The five native pastors settled over evangelical churches in Turkey, were all trained, in part or entirely, under the missionaries of the Board. Three of them were educated at the Bebek Seminary, and one in America. They are, in general, strong-minded and industrious men; men of intellectual culture and logical power; and, what is more than all, of faith, and prayer, and ardent zeal in the service of Christ. In effective public speaking, some of them would not suffer, in comparison with our best preachers, of the same age, in America.

Education and the press have been two powerful auxiliaries to the living preacher. Our male and female seminaries we have designed to make as thorough and efficient as possible in promoting the objects of their formation. The course of study is intended to be such as to secure, in the highest degree, the discipline of the mind; and it is believed that at no similar institutions in America is this end more fully attained. At the same time religion is interwoven with all other studies, and made ever to stand out as pre-eminently the subject upon which all the mental and moral powers of man should be concentrated. The relations of these seminaries to the newly formed evangelical churches, are becoming more and more important. The work of reform which has commenced, must, under God, be carried on chiefly through the agency of a native ministry, and this ministry must be trained on the ground. This simple statement tells the whole story, and shows that it is hardly possible to over-estimate the importance of well sustaining the Seminary at Bebek. Nor can we justify ourselves in using language less strong or emphatic in reference to the Female Seminary, when we

think of the influence, for good or for evil, of the wives and mothers of any community.

The press has proved itself a most powerful engine in carrying forward this work. Nicomedia, Adabazar, and Aintab may be singled out from many other smaller places, as furnishing most instructive examples of what God has done to revive true religion, through means of the press alone. Probably not fewer than seventy or eighty different works have been published by the missionaries of the Board, in the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish languages. Many of these have been written on the ground, though most are translations from the English and other languages. Among the latter are Pilgrim's Progress and D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation. The whole Bible has been translated and published in the Armeno-Turkish, and the New Testament, and a large part of the Old, in the modern Armenian dialect. The whole of the latter will ere long be completed. Periodicals have also been published, and doctrinal books and tracts adapted to the state of the public mind. These publications have found their way to almost every nook and corner of the land, and they are at this moment more widely circulated and better received than ever before.

In no case are the native pastors or the native Protestant schools (except the two Seminaries), entirely supported at the expense of the Board. For these objects the churches contribute, generally, to the extent of their ability, and the amount is increasing from year to year; but, being feeble at the best, they need help, and the funds of the Board are cautiously appropriated to supply deficiencies. This aid, however, is only for the present distress, and will be withdrawn as soon as they are able to stand alone.

The system of Church organization adopted in Turkey thus far works well. Difficulties have occurred, particularly at Constantinople and Trebizond, but they have been fewer than were anticipated, and more easily healed. They arose in part from inexperience, and in part from the union of great scrupulosity of conscience with little knowledge. Some few cases of moral obliquity have occurred among the church members, and they have been dealt with according to the rules of Christ. Discipline has been uniformly maintained, and the good effects of strictness on this point are quite manifest. All the churches have gained in experience, chiefly by the trials through which they have passed, and now they understand far better than at first, the relations of the members to the Church, and of the Church to its members.

The standard of piety is high; and for simplicity of faith, and a full, and peaceful, and joyful trust in Christ, many of our Armenian brethren might be held up as examples to Christians in more favored lands. The forms of worship among them are essentially copied from the prevalent usages in our churches in America. The singing is always strictly congregational, in which all join with a heartiness that is truly affecting. This part of the worship of God is to each and every one of them an important means of grace, the loss of which would be disastrous to their spirituality. The missionary zeal of the Armenian Christians has already been alluded to, as one of the striking characteristics of their piety. It does not expend itself on its own people, but, like the spirit of primitive Christianity, it seeks to do good to the whole race of man.

The present aspect of the work of God among the Armenians of Turkey is highly cheering. A numerical es-

timate of the strength of the existing evangelical communities, would present an entirely erroneous view of the true strength of Protestantism in the country. During the eighteen years of missionary labor in behalf of that people, involving much inquiry and much discussion, new thoughts and new opinions have found a lodgment in many minds. The constant presentation of Scripture truth for so long a time, in conversation, in the pulpit, and from the press, has not been powerless on the Armenian community, as such. One error after another has given place to the truth; and now, many of those who still claim to be faithful sons of the Church, boast that the Armenians are free from certain superstitions and observances which only a few years ago were considered as the test of their orthodoxy, and as their glory and their pride. The symbols of superstition are also gradually disappearing from their churches. Reverence for the clergy and a dread of their anathemas, have given place extensively to disgust for their selfishness and duplicity, hatred of their cruelty, and contempt of their power. The Bible, in an intelligible language, is extensively read, and the opinions and practices of the Church continually compared with its teachings. Thousands who still remain in the old connection, are intellectually convinced that evangelical Protestantism is true; and some among them, no doubt, have heartily embraced the doctrines their intellects approve. Some belonging to this class are active reformers, who are constantly employed in circulating the Scriptures and other publications from our press, and making known the truth even as it is in Jesus. The pastors and members of the evangelical churches, also, are now permitted to have free intercourse with their brethren who remain in the ancient Church.

The force of the anathema has expended itself, and a friendly intercourse is once more maintained between the Protestant and Armenian parties. The children of the latter are sent to the Protestant schools, and the adults are more and more in the habit of attending the Protestant places of worship. Evangelical sentiments are spreading in the land. A spirit of inquiry extensively prevails, and free discussions are allowed. Never, from the beginning, did the Armenian mission see a day of more intense interest or brighter promise than the present. The enemies of spiritual religion are still busy, but so are its friends. Another crisis must soon come on, another exodus from a corrupt Church ; but it will be on a far grander scale than before. The progress must be onward towards the light, and not backward towards the darkness. Nothing but the enlightening, renewing, and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, however, can render the movement a real blessing.

The narrative is now finished, but not the work of God which has been so imperfectly sketched. And while our hearts throb with holy gratitude and joy, in view of what God hath wrought, may we not confidently anticipate that still more wondrous scenes will be exhibited on that chosen theatre of his love and power ? He has his instruments prepared. Even the schemes of politicians and the enterprises of commercial men, he subsidizes, and compels to contribute to the accomplishment of his purposes. He moves governments and associations of men to make highways by steam through the deep, to facilitate the march of his kingdom. All power, all resources, all hearts are in his hand. What is too hard for him ?

But where is our devotion to the cause ? Where is our

love to our fellow-men? Where are our tithes and offerings? Where is our self-denial? Where are our prayers? Oh! what higher honor or joy can a disciple of Christ desire, or possess, than to be a co-worker with the great God in bringing a wandering and rebellious world back to its allegiance to the King of kings, and in conferring on the miserable and the perishing the infinite privileges and blessings of the Gospel!

APPENDIX.

A

FIRST ANATHEMA OF THE PRIEST VERTANES.

"From Matteos, the Lord Archbishop and Patriarch of the great metropolitan city of Constantinople, to all our Spirtual Ecclesiastical Officers, and to our Armenian Laity, salutation in Jesus Christ.

"The holy apostle Paul, the chosen vessel of the Grace of the Holy Spirit, has well counselled the servants of the church of God, of every rank and grade, how the clergy especially should stand firm in faith and conversation, with holiness and purity; how the elders and priests, who are ministers of the divine and holy sacraments, should be nourished by the holy faith, and become examples to the faithful in doctrine, life, charity, faith and holiness; not to neglect the grace of God which was given them by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery; and to take heed to themselves and to their doctrines, so as to both save themselves and those that hear them. All this has the apostle transmitted in writing to Timothy, saying, (i. 6,) 'Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee, by the putting on of thy hand. That good thing which was committed to thee, keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us. Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth. O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding

profane and vain babblings and oppositions of science falsely so called.'

" But now in these latter times, as according to the inspired prophecy of the apostle, some have departed from the holy faith, and turned aside to the impiety and seduction of devils, speaking falsehood in hypocrisy, deceived by their own consciences and following their sinful lusts, they finally arrive at perdition in new fangled oppositions and errors.

" Of these there is one in our nation, a contemptible wretch, the unworthy priest Vertanes, of Nicomedia. He was some time since ordained over the Church in Nicomedia, by the spiritually illuminated Archbishop Boghos, of that city. This fellow, following his carnal lusts, leaves the Church and his sacred office, and, like a vagabond going about through the metropolis and Nicomedia, babbles out errors, unworthy of his sacred office and dignity, and becomes an occasion of stumbling to many. And altogether throwing aside the holiness of faith, which he had received in the holy and catholic Armenian Church, he follows the erroneous doctrines of *Modern Sectaries*, and begins to preach their error in Nicomedia, Cesarea, Anatolia, and in Constantinople, and in every place wherever he sets his impious foot, and to overwhelm the simple people in spiritual destruction. After all this, on his return to Constantinople we called him to us kindly, conversed with him many times, beseechingly and mildly, and gave him spiritual counsel necessary and useful to disrobe him of the impiety of his wayward course, and to robe him again in the glorious vestments of the holy and catholic doctrines of the Armenian Church. But he remained obstinately bent upon his wickedness, after the example of Judas, who regarded not the divine command of our Saviour, Jesus, when, in the presence of the other apostles, he said of Judas, ' But woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed ; good were it for that man if he had never been born.' To this Judas did not listen, and did not wish ever to think of it, for he did not wish to forsake his wickedness, which he was prepared to do. In like manner this fellow,

not wishing to expel the Satanic spirit from himself, and, in order to accomplish his desires, has rejected the holy grace of God, which he received in ordination. He has despised the holy covenant which he covenanted with God, on receiving the holy order of the priesthood. He has denied the Church of Christ which begat him, he has denied the holy laver which received him into Sonship to his heavenly Father. And this his impiety he has shown not only by word and deed; but his own manuscript, which we have by us, has vomited out the gall of bitterness which was in his heart.

"And since that deceiver endeavors to creep into houses, and to travel here and there in order to deceive our simple-minded people to the perdition of the soul, therefore hasting to warn my beloved in the faith, I remind you of the apostolical counsel, 'A man that is a heretic after the first and second admonition, reject, knowing that he that is such, is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of himself.' Tit. iii. 10. For if he that despised Moses' law perished without mercy, of how much sorer punishment do you think him worthy who has despised the immaculate bride of Christ, the holy Church? Behold this man deliberately and wilfully has wandered from the unity of the Church of Christ, an enemy of the *holy Church*, a divider of her members, a cause of scandal, a seducer of the people, a traitor and murderer of Christ, a child of the devil, and an offspring of *Antichrist*, worse than an infidel, or a heathen, since, under the semblance of faith, he teaches the impieties and seductions of *Modern Sectaries*.

"Therefore according to the declaration of our Lord, 'Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves, who will not spare the flock,' (Matt. vii. 15,) behold this is a ravening and rending wolf, who in sheep's clothing, that is, under the appearance of priestly virtue, comes to you, to rend and devour you, and to lacerate the innocent lambs, the children of our holy Church, with the wicked and hellish teeth of his filthy mouth.

"Wherefore we expel him and forbid him as a Devil, and a

child of the Devil, to enter the company of our believers. We cut him off from the priesthood as an amputated member of the spiritual body of Christ, and as a branch cut off from the vine, which is good for nothing but to be cast into the fire. By this admonitory bull, I therefore command and warn my beloved in every city far and near, not to look upon his face, regarding it as the face of Belial; not to receive him into your holy dwelling, for he is a house destroying and ravening wolf; not to receive his salutation, but as a soul-destroying and deadly poison; and to beware, with all your households, of the seducing and impious followers of the false doctrine of *Modern Sectaries;* and to pray for them, to the God who remembereth not iniquity, if perchance they may repent, and turn from their wicked paths, and secure the salvation of their souls, through the grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

"This bull was written under the shadow of the Cathedral Church of the holy mother of God, at the Patriarchate of all the Armenians, this 12th of January, in the year of our Lord, 1846, Constantinople."

B

SECOND ANATHEMA OF THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCH, ANATHEMATIZING THE WHOLE BODY OF EVANGELICAL ARMENIANS.

"Be it known to the pious flock of our Church in the metropolis, that on the last Sabbath, the decree of Anathema was read for the information of the pious, but some of the people understood it as referring only to the cursed nonentity Vertanes, falsely called priest, and not also to the others. Wherefore we considered it necessary to day to repeat it, and to inform you, that not only that cursed one, (Vertanes) but also all that are of his sentiments, deceivers and blasphemers against the Church, and followers of *the corrupt new sect*, are accursed and excommuni-

cated and anathematized, by God, and by all his saints, and by us.

"Wherefore, whoever has a son, that is such an one, or a brother, or a partner (in business) and *gives him bread*, or *assists him in making money*, or *has intercourse with him as a friend* or *does business with him*—let such persons know that they are nourishing a venomous serpent in their houses, which will one day injure them with its deadly poison, and they will lose their souls. Such persons give bread to Judas. Such persons are enemies of the holy faith of Christianity, and destroyers of the holy orthodox Church of the Armenians, and a disgrace to the whole nation. Wherefore, *their houses and shops also are accursed;* and *whoever goes to visit them*, we shall learn, and make them public to the holy Church by *terrible anathemas*. For in these days there are some of the poisoned individuals who have become acquainted with their awful error, and having undertaken the necessary penance with repentance, they confess their sin—whom God forgives through the intercession of the holy Church, and our holy Church also receives. On which account we now wait that we may receive all who will return,—and at last, as many souls as remain wicked and hardened, who, receiving bodily support or monthly wages, deny their church, and like Judas, betray Christ through love of money;—these also, by their names and places, we shall publish to all our churches far and near, with terrible anathema.

"Wherefore by this my letter of notification, I again command and warn the pious to keep aloof from those wicked deceivers;—for the love of the holy faith of Jesus Christ, the glory of the holy Church, and the interest and advantage of your own souls.

"Farewell; and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen."

PAPER OF RECANTATION.*

" *Our most Honorable and Spiritual Father :*

" Having been, by God's special Providence, born in the holy and spotless Christian religion, and particularly having been nourished in the Catholic doctrines of the holy Armenian Church, with whatever honor and love we may show filial obedience to the same holy Church, still it is evident that for such distinguished favors we can never make a sufficient return. But alas ! that being deceived by the wicked enticements of Satan, besides being found wanting in our duty, we separated from the spotless bosom of the same holy Church, and rejecting her apostolic, sound and saving doctrine, we were caught in the loose and soul-destroying doctines of the New Sectaries. And thus we not only despised our immaculate Mother, the Holy Church, who regenerated us by the holy laver to be the sons of God, but we were also found opposers of the infallible command of Christ Jesus, who has given to his holy Church, the power of being invincible to the gates of hell. We have also sinned against the mighty power of the Holy Spirit, who guides the Church of Christ ever to remain in infallible truth ; and finally we have lightly esteemed the free grace of God the Father, who was pleased to create us in this holy faith, as the single and only means of becoming the heirs of his glory.

" Behold, we were lovingly joined to this impious sect, and until now, we wilfully remained obstinate in this error. But when the holy Church, by the God-given power of your high priesthood, after having again and again resorted to counsel, and the means necessary to correct us, brandished her two-edged and Christ-given sword, which pierceth even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, of the joints and marrow, immediately the bands of our

* It is written as from the mouth of those who recant, and is addressed to the Patriarch.

soul were broken, and the stupor which reigned over our hearts, dispelled; the obstinacy of our wills relaxed, we awoke from our beastly Nebuchadnezzar-like irrationality, and became aware that what we had done was against the Divine power, and that the preaching of *those deceiving* New Sectaries, which we had heartily received, was nothing else but an invention of arrogance, a snare of Satan, a sect of confusion, a broad road which leadeth to destruction.

"Wherefore, repenting of these our impious deeds, of our own will and choice we have fled again to the bosom of our immaculate and holy Armenian Church; and, in order to excite her gracious compassion towards us, receiving your Spiritual and Christian authority as our Mediator, we cry, "Father, we have sinned against heaven and before thee," in order that she may grant us forgiveness with a forgetful indulgence towards our former dissolute lives; and whatever penance she may impose we will willingly perform; and we confess that the faith of the holy Church is spotless, her sacraments Divine, her rites of apostolic origin, her ritual pious. And whatever this same holy Church receiveth, whether it be a matter of faith or ceremony, we also receive; and whatever doctrines she rejects, we also like her reject with anathemas. And this truth, which we here express by word and letter, we also confess with our heart and mind, before the heart-searching God. And if by cherishing in our hearts something different from what we here assert, we design to deceive the holy Church by practising hypocrisy, then may we be regarded as partakers of the sin, and liable to the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, who lied to the Holy Ghost, the fountain of truth.

"And if through fear, or for temporal advantage, or in order not to give up our own opinions, after now making this confession, we return to our former impious way, and to the error of those accursed New Sectaries, and visit them, or those like them, or have any intercourse whatever with them; then, even though we should repent, let punishment *spiritual and temporal* be immediately executed upon us

"And now, in order to demonstrate that we receive with all our hearts everything we have confessed, we now sign and affix our seals each with his own hand,—once haters, but now, by the grace of God, penitent children of the holy and catholic Armenian Church."

D

THE PATRIARCH'S "NEW CREED."

1. "Do you confess and receive, that faith alone cannot save a man; but with faith there must also be good works; and that not good works, but the making of a confession in accordance with the belief of the universal Church, is the sign that a Christian has the true faith."

2. "Do you confess and receive, that the Church of Christ in this world is the visible company of believers, confessing and not concealing their faith, and is called The Church Militant, and that the head of that Holy Church is Christ, and that it is governed by the guidance of the Holy Spirit, (i. e. its governors act under the influence of the Holy Spirit—TR.) and will never cease nor fail to the end of time; it has never erred and never can err; and that there is not a single truth in the Holy Scriptures which is not acknowledged by the Holy Church?"

3. "Do you confess and receive the seven Sacraments of the Church, which are Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Communion, Ordination, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction; and that those Sacraments cannot be administered by any private Christian, but only by a regularly ordained Catholicos, or bishop, or priest, who alone has authority to administer them, and that authority they have received from Christ, through him who ordained them?"

4. "Do you confess and receive, that man, in order to be an heir of eternal salvation, must be baptized; that while unbaptized he is out of the church, and *has no salvation, even though he*

had never sinned at all; likewise that until he confesses his sins, with every single circumstance, and with perfect repentance, before a priest, and submits to the penance imposed by the priest, he cannot receive the forgiveness of his sins and absolution, nor become worthy of eternal glory. Nay, if he has confessed, and should die before performing the penance, or in light and involuntary sins after confession, the soul of such, by *the prayer of the Church*, by the *deathless sacrifice*, (of the mass,) and by *special alms*, is purified and becomes worthy of eternal glory?"

5. "Do you confess and receive, that the mystery of the Holy Communion is the true body and blood of Christ, and that whoever does not partake of the Communion in this belief is under eternal condemnation?"

6. "Do you confess and receive that the Holy Virgin Mary, having brought forth Christ-God, is the mother of God, and that both at the time of his birth, and afterwards, her virginity remained unimpaired, that she is ever virgin, and worthy of honor above all the saints; and that the holy wooden cross, having been stained by the Divine blood of Christ, and other holy and anointed crosses, on account of *being the image* of this, are worthy of adoration. Likewise, that the intercession of the saints is acceptable to God, and their relics and anointed pictures worthy of honor, and that God always works miracles by means both of the holy cross and holy relics?"

7. "Do you confess and receive, that to believe in the Church, means, to believe those things which the universal Holy Church unitedly believes, and to believe them in the same way she does?"

"Do you thus believe the Holy Church, and do you honor and promise to keep and perform her external ceremonies of piety and Christian rites, and all her requirements, as having been received by tradition from the holy Apostles, and the holy fathers who succeeded them?"

8. "Do you confess and receive, that in the Holy Church there are different offices and grades of authority successively rising, as reader, deacon, priest, bishop, catholicos; and that the

catholicoses and patriarchs of every nation are Christ's vicegerents, to rule the Holy Church, and govern her in due order. But should the life of one of these shepherds be vicious, the church governed by him does not thereby err in the least, and no blot comes upon the universal church?"

9. "Do you anathematize and withdraw from that man and that society who preaches that error has entered into the faith unitedly received by the universal church, saying that the Holy Spirit has taught me so, and thus represents his own instigating spirit of error as God the Holy Spirit, and 'trusting to that, calls the Holy Mother of God the mother of Christ, and denies her perpetual virginity, and esteeming the worship offered to the Holy Cross, and the honor paid to the relics of saints, and to anointed pictures, and the reception of the intercession of the saints with God, as idolatry, calls Christ's Holy Church idolatrous, and rejects her ceremonies of piety, and all her requisitions, as superstitious, and limits God's infinite power by not receiving his working of miracles.' (See § 6.) The followers of such error do you anathematize, reject, and altogether withdraw from, as impious blasphemers of the Holy Spirit, and enemies of God and all his saints?"

Those who subscribed affixed their names to the following form of reception:

"These nine are the articles of faith of the Armenian Church, which every Armenian is bound to receive.

"Of the above questions, whatever truths are found in them to be confessed and acknowledged, I profess and acknowledge, and believe them all, in accordance with the Holy Church; and whatever is to be rejected and anathematized, and cast away as error and ungodliness, I reject, and anathematize, and cast away; and I believe that the Holy Catholic Church of Christ is the only pillar and ground of the truth, and whoever is out of the Church is not an heir of salvation. Feb. 4, 1846." (O. S.)

E

DECLARATION OF REASONS FOR ORGANIZING PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

"We, Evangelical Christians of the Armenian nation, believing that the true foundation and perfect rule of Christian faith is the Holy Scriptures alone, have cast away from us those human traditions and ceremonies which are opposed to the rules of the Bible, but which our National Church requires. And furthermore, without having had the least intention of separating from it, we have been united together for the special purpose of enlightening and reforming this Church. And since we receive entire the Nicene creed of the Church, and also since up to the present time no creed, embracing particularly these human traditions, has been framed and enjoined upon the members of the Armenian Church as necessary to be received, we could be considered as regular members of the National Church by simply receiving the ancient (Nicene) creed. But in the year 1846, Bishop Matteos, Patriarch of the Armenians, has invented a new creed, embracing particularly these human traditions, and he has insisted upon our accepting and subscribing it.

"But we, obeying God rather than man, have not received it; on account of which he has cast us out of the Church, and anathematized us particularly and publicly by name; and, according to his ability, he has also inflicted upon us material injuries. We had indeed, previous to this, suffered persecution of different kinds for our religious opinions; as, for instance, about seven years ago, several of us were sent into exile; and also, within about two years, some have been banished, some put in prison, some fined, some bastinadoed, &c.; yet since the present Patriarch rejected us by excommunication from the Church, he has inflicted on us generally various additional bodily penalties. Thus, for several months, all the shops of the Evangelical Armenians were closed; some were unwillingly separated from their homes

and parents; and some even from their wives and husbands; bakers and water-carriers were forbidden to bring either bread or water; and to the extent of his ability, he strove, by every species of bodily infliction, to compel us to receive and sign his new confession of faith.

"And although, by the interposed protection of the powerful Ottoman Government, he has been prevented from continuing this severity of persecution, he has to this day, every day on the Sabbath, repeated the command to the Armenian people not to receive us into their houses or shops, or even to look upon us. And finally, after all these things, he has issued a new bull, and caused it to be read in all the churches on the day of the Catholic Church festival; which bull of excommunication and anathema is also to be read in all the churches throughout the Ottoman Empire, every year successively, at this same festival. Thus he cuts us off, and casts us out forever from the National Church, by the standing order and high authority of this bull.

"And now it being evident that we cannot be in fellowship with the Armenian Church without receiving human traditions and rites, which, being contrary to the Holy Scriptures, we cannot receive; we, therefore, by the grace and mercy of God, following the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ and obeying the Gospel, and consequently being members of his one Catholic and Apostolical Church, do now rightfully and justly constitute ourselves into a Church with the following confession of faith."

F

PLAN OF CHURCH ORGANIZATION FOR THE EVANGELICAL ARMENIANS.

The following plan of organization for the Evangelical Armenian Church, is presented at the particular request of the Armenian

brethren, and with the special understanding on our part, that we merely *suggest* and *advise*, and would by no means *dictate*, in such a matter, or claim the least authority over them.

1. The officers of the Evangelical Armenian Church, shall consist of *elders* or *bishops*, (called also pastors, &c.,) and *deacons*, to be chosen by the male members of the church, and set apart by prayer and the imposition of hands.

2. In the first Evangelical Armenian church in Constantinople, there shall be, for the present, one elder or bishop, and two deacons; it being understood that the number of either may hereafter be increased, as circumstances demand.

3. Inasmuch as discipline, according to the Scriptures, (1 Cor. v. 4, and 2 Cor. ii. 6,) belongs not to the clergy alone, but, with them, to the people; and inasmuch as it is not always convenient nor expedient for the whole church to come together for this purpose, they shall choose three or more brethren as "*helps*," "*governments*," (1 Cor. xii. 28,) to form, with the pastor and deacons, a *church session* or *standing committee*, for the examination of candidates for admission into the church and the administration of discipline.

4. Of the church members thus chosen to form the committee, two shall be elected, in the first instance, for the term of one year, and the remaining one or more for the term of two years; and when these terms respectively expire, a new election shall take place, either of the same or other individuals, who are thereafter to serve equally for two years, it being the object of this rule to secure a new election of one half the number, or as near one-half as may be, once every year.

5. The first bishops, or pastors, and deacons, chosen by the church, shall be set apart to their office by prayer and the imposition of hands, in the presence of the church, by missionaries of the American Board, and such other ministers of Christ as may be invited to assist; it being understood that this is merely a rule of present expediency and convenience, and also that it belongs to the Evangelical Armenian Church to provide,

thereafter, for the ordination of its own officers, according to the apostolic example.

6. Each bishop, or pastor, is to give himself wholly to the preaching of the word and to prayer; to administer the sacraments; to visit the sick; to give particular attention to the religious instruction of the congregation, and, by visiting families and individuals, and adapting his counsels to the peculiarities of each, to promote in every possible way the highest spiritual welfare of his people. He is also entitled to the sympathy and prayers of his flock, and to receive from them a competent support.

The deacons are to have a care over the poor of the church, and to distribute among them the alms collected for their relief, and to assist the pastor, in all suitable ways, in spiritual duties.

The pastor shall preside at all meetings of the church, and of the standing committee or church session; and, in his absence, this duty shall devolve upon one of the deacons.

7. Baptism is to be administered only to those who give credible evidence of true faith in Jesus Christ, and to their households.

8. Candidates for admission to the communion shall be carefully examined as to their knowledge of the doctrines of the Gospel and their personal piety by the standing committee or church session; and if the result of the examination, and of a sufficient observation of the lives of the individuals, be such as to afford satisfactory evidence of *repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ*, implying a new heart, they shall be proposed by the pastor, at a regular meeting of the church, at least two weeks previous to the communion, and the male members shall be called upon to vote on the question of their admission.

9. This examination may be dispensed with in cases where individuals offer themselves for communion, who, either by letter, or otherwise, are known to be regular and consistent members of sister churches of Christ.

10. If no objections have been made, the candidates proposed shall, on the day of the communion, be admitted to the full privileges of membership, on assenting, in the presence of the whole church, to the following confession of faith and covenant; and their names shall thereafter be enrolled as communicants in the records of the church.

CONFESSION OF FAITH.

1. You believe in the existence of one only living and true God, the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the universe; omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent; self-existent, independent, immutable; possessed of infinite benevolence, wisdom, holiness, justice, mercy, and truth, and who is the only proper object of worship.

2. You believe that God exists in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that these three are one God.

3. You believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by inspiration of God, and are a revelation of his will to man, and the sufficient and only rule of faith and practice.

4. You believe that mankind, in their natural state, are destitute of holiness, and entirely depraved, and justly exposed to the Divine wrath.

5. You believe that the Lord Jesus Christ, perfect God and perfect man, is the only Saviour of sinners, and the only mediator and intercessor between God and man; and that by his perf obedience, sufferings, and death, he made full atonement for s so that all who believe in him will assuredly be saved, and th there is no other sacrifice for sin.

6. You believe that in consequence of the utter wickedness o man, it is necessary that all should be regenerated by the pow of the Holy Ghost, in order to be saved.

7. You believe that we are justified by the righteousness o Christ alone, through faith, and not by any fastings, alms, penance

or other deeds of our own ; and that while good works are inseparable from true faith, they can never be the meritorious ground of salvation before God.

8. You believe that holiness of life, and a conscientious discharge of the various duties we owe to God, to our fellow men, and to ourselves, are not only constantly binding upon all believers, but essential to the Christian character.

9. You believe that, besides God, no other being is to be worshipped and adored, and that each person in the sacred Trinity is worthy of our worship, which, to be acceptable, must be offered through no other mediation than that of Jesus Christ alone ; and that the use of relics, pictures, crosses, and images of any sort, in any act of worship, and of the intercession of the saints, is directly contrary to the Scriptures, and highly displeasing to God ; and that prayer for the dead is not authorized in the Word of God.

10. You believe that there will be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust, and a day of judgment ; and that the happiness of the righteous, and the punishment of the wicked, commence at death, and continue without end.

11. You believe that any number of believers, duly organized, constitute a church of Christ, of which Christ is the only Head ; and that the only sacraments of Christ's Church are *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper ;* the former being the seal of the covenant, and a sign of the purifying operation of the Holy Spirit, and the token of admission into the visible Church ; and the latter, in showing forth by visible symbols the death of Christ, being a perpetual memento of his atoning love, and a pledge of union and communion with him and with all true believers.

12. You believe that the Gospel is the chief instrument appointed by Christ for the conversion of men and for the edification of his people, and that it is the duty of his Church to carry into effect the Saviour's command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature."

COVENANT.

Humbly hoping that you are united to Christ by a living faith, and feeling yourself [or yourselves] under indispensable obligations to acknowledge him before men and unite with his visible Church; you solemnly declare, in the presence of this assembly, and before God, that you have chosen the Lord,—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,—to be your God, Saviour, and Sanctifier, and the Holy Scriptures to be your only rule of faith and practice. You make an unreserved surrender of yourself [or yourselves,] and whatever belongs to you, to the service of God, promising, by Divine help, to lead a life of holy obedience to the will of God; keeping sacredly his Sabbaths, and observing conscientiously the rules of truth, honesty, and sobriety, laid down in his Word; endeavoring to promote, with all your powers, the religion of Christ in the world, and ever to set an example of justice, temperance, charity, and godliness.

You further engage to walk together with the members of this Church, as becomes those of the same redeemed household, in the exercise of Christian affection, in the discharge of Christian duty, and in cheerful submission to its watch and discipline.

Relying for assistance on the Holy Spirit, you make these solemn declarations and promises, in the presence of this assembly, and before God himself, the Searcher of all hearts, and the Judge of all the world?

[To which the candidate is to give a token of assent. The members of the church then rise, and the minister says:]

We then affectionately receive you to the fellowship of this church, promising to watch over you with Christian tenderness and fidelity, and, in all respects, to conduct towards you that friendship and brotherly kindness which your sacred relation to us demands; always praying that you and we may at last be presented faultless before our Lord, with exceeding joy. Amen.

[Then follows a short prayer.]

DISCIPLINE.

Discipline is the application of such laws as the Lord Jesus Christ has appointed to his Church for the removal of offences, the preservation of the purity and edification of the Church, and also the benefit of the offender.

Rule 1. All Christian discipline is spiritual; and nothing shall be admitted as matter of accusation, or considered an offence, which cannot be proved to be such from the Scriptures.

2. Private and personal offences are not to be laid immediately before the church, but are to be dealt with in the manner pointed out by our Saviour in Matthew xviii.

3. Notorious and scandalous offences, and especially those against any of the commands of the decalogue, shall be considered as requiring the immediate attention of the standing committee.

4. Offenders are to be admonished, suspended, or excommunicated, according to the nature of their offence, and the dispositions they manifest in regard to it; it being understood that all discipline is intended for the good of the offender, and that neither anathemas nor temporal penalties can be inflicted by the Church of Christ.

5. The trial of persons for offences shall be conducted by the standing committee, or church session, who, after a thorough and impartial investigation of the case, shall report their decision to the male members of the church, with the written evidence for and against the accused, the final sentence being passed by vote of the church.

6. If in any case the church disapproves the decision of the standing committee, and the matter cannot be arranged between them, it shall be referred to a meeting of the pastors and delegates of the associated churches. And if any member feels aggrieved by the decision of the standing committee and church, he may, in like manner, appeal to the same body, whose decision shall, in all cases, be final.

7. If a minister shall be charged with an offence, the standing committee of the church, over which he is pastor, or within whose bounds he resides, shall, in a tender and respectful manner, ask him for an explanation or justification of his conduct. If they are not satisfied, they shall lay the case before the pastors and delegates of the associated churches, whose duty it shall be to try the accused minister, and if they see cause, they shall have power to suspend or depose him from the ministry.

8. When a minister shall have been deposed, he shall be subject to the discipline of the church to which he belongs, in the same way as other private members.

G

TRANSLATION OF AN ORDER, OBTAINED FROM THE SUBLIME PORTE BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD COWLEY, IN FAVOR OF THE SULTAN'S PROTESTANT SUBJECTS.

"*To His Excellency, the Pasha Comptroller of the City Revenue.*

"Whereas the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Government professing Protestantism, have experienced difficulty and embarrassment from not being hitherto under a special and separate jurisdiction, and naturally the Patriarch and the heads of the sects from which they have separated not being able to superintend their affairs; and

"Whereas it is in contravention to the supreme will of his Imperial Majesty our Gracious Lord and Benefactor, (may God increase him in years and power!) animated as he is with feelings of deep interest and clemency towards all classes of his subjects, that any of them should be subjected to grievance; and

"Whereas the aforesaid Protestants, in conformity with the creed professed by them, do form a separate community:

"It is his Imperial Majesty's supreme will and command that

for the sole purpose of facilitating their affairs, and of securing the welfare of said Protestants, the administration thereof should be henceforward confided to Your Excellency, together with the allotment of the taxes to which they are subjected by law: that you do keep a separate register of their births and deaths in the Bureau of your Department, according to the system observed with regard to the Latin subjects: that you do issue passports and permits of marriage: and that any person of established character and good conduct chosen by them to appear as their agent at the Porte for the transaction and settlement of their current affairs, be duly appointed for that purpose.

"Such are the Imperial Commands, which you are to obey to the letter.

"But although passports and the allotment of taxes are placed under special regulations which cannot be infringed upon, you will be careful that, in pursuance of his Majesty's desire, no taxes be exacted from the Protestants for permits of marriage and registration; that any necessary assistance and facility be afforded to them in their current affairs: that no interference whatever be permitted in their temporal or spiritual concerns on the part of the Patriarch, Monks or Priests of other Sects; but that they be enabled to exercise the profession of their creed, in security, and that they be not molested one iota, either in that respect, or in any other way whatever."

(Signed) "Reshid, *Grand Vezir.*"

November 15, 1847.

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LETTER TO HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S MINISTER AT THE SUBLIME PORTE, FROM THE MISSIONARIES OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

PERA, *Dec.* 21, 1847.

To his Excellency the Right Honorable Lord COWLEY, *H. B. M. Minister Plenipotentiary at the Sublime Porte, &c. &c. &c.*

MY LORD,—We, the undersigned, missionaries of the American Board of Foreign Missions, resident in Constantinople, beg leave to offer to your Lordship our sincere congratulations on the successful termination of your efforts in behalf of the Protestant subjects of the Porte.

In view of the difficulties of the case, we are constrained to regard the happy results obtained by means of your Lordship's persevering and benevolent endeavors, as having been secured only through the special interposition of an overruling Providence; which of itself must afford ground to your Lordship for the most gratifying reflections. The good actually accomplished to the present generation is probably far greater than even the most sanguine among us dares now to hope; while its wide and happy influence on generations to come, of the different races in this land, is known only to Him who sees the end from the beginning.

Through the humane interposition of his Excellency, Sir Stratford Canning, the Protestant subjects of Turkey found substantial relief from the persecutions under which they were then suffering; and since, by the untiring efforts of your Lordship, the very important point has been conceded for them, that in regard to liberty of conscience and the enjoyment of civil rights, they shall be placed on the same footing with all other Christian subjects of the Porte.

The record of this event will be a bright page in the history of this country, redounding to the honor of Her Britannic Majesty's

present government, whom God has disposed to adopt so benevolent a line of policy; as well as of your Lordship, its honorable representative, who has been the immediate instrument of so great a blessing.

We take this opportunity of expressing to your Lordship our sincere regret, that, (as we have been informed,) you are likely to be called to leave this capital at no very distant day; and we beg to assure you, that it will be our fervent prayer to God, that his protection and blessing may always accompany your Lordship in whatever part of this world your lot may be cast.

With the renewed assurance of our highest respect and esteem, we subscribe ourselves,

Your Lordship's humble and obedient servants,

(Signed) W. GOODELL,
H G. O. DWIGHT,
W. G. SCAUFFLER,
H. A. HOMES,
C. HAMLIM,
G. W. WOOD,
H. J. VAN LENNEP,
J. S. EVERETT.

LETTER FROM HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S MINISTER AT CONSTANTINOPLE, THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD COWLEY, TO THE MISSIONARIES OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN THAT CITY.

THERAPIS, (*Constantinople,*) DEC. 28, 1847.

REV. WILLIAM GOODELL:

REV. SIR,—I have received the letter which you and your reverend brethren did me the honor to address me on the 21st inst., and I beg to return you my most cordial thanks for the congartulations which it offers on the successful termination of my

poor endeavors in behalf of the Protestant subjects of the Sublime Porte. I shall not fail to bring to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government and of her Majesty's Ambassador, the sense which you entertain of the efforts which they have made in the same cause.

Permit me also to take this opportunity of publicly stating, how much the Protestants owe to you and to the Society which sent you here. I gladly give my testimony to the zeal, prudence, and patience which have characterized all your proceedings in this country, and to which I attribute much of the success that has crowned our joint endeavors.

We, however, are but mere instruments in the hands of a higher Power; though perhaps to you, reverend sir, it ill becomes me to make the observation. To that same Power, then, let us recommend the future interests of the emancipated community.

I thank you most sincerely for your good wishes in my behalf, and for your kind expressions of regret at my approaching departure from this country. Be assured that I shall always feel a lively interest in your further progress, and that in whatever part of the world I may be, I shall always endeavor to keep myself informed of your proceedings.

I would fain say one word before parting, on the necessity of you and all your reverend brethren continuing to use all your influence to prevent further quarrels between the Protestants and the Church from which they are seceders. Let no signs of triumph on their part irritate or offend—persuade them to bear the taunts and jeers, nay, even the insults, to which they may be exposed, with patience and forbearance—urge them to abstain from disturbing the peace and tranquillity of other families, by any undue desire of obtaining proselytes—let them respect the religious creed of others, as they desire their own to be respected, and thus they will prosper.

And it may be hoped, that the faith which they have adopted, will, under God's blessing, spread wider and wider, until it shall

find a home wherever there is a Christian population in this empire.

I have the honor to be, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) COWLEY.

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